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ABSTRACT

This guide was designed to assist black delegates attending the 1976 Republican National Convention. The guide is divided into four main parts. The first part contains information on convention procedures, convention committees, and various aspects of black participation in politics. The second and third parts include the names of delegates to the convention. These two parts also contain a general review of black voter behavior during the primaries; a historical review of black attendance at party conventions; a section on black women and black youth in politics; and a commentary on black voter potential. Part four includes some information on the Joint Center for Political Studies. The appendix contains information on the black voting age population in cities over 50,000 with 20% or more black population; congressional districts with 20% or more black population; the black vote in selected congressional and gubernatorial races of 1974; black elected officials in the United States as of 1976; and a tally sheet for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination. (Author/JK)

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GUIDE TO BLACK POLITICS 1976

PART II

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

AUGUST 16-19, 1976

SP 010 652

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, D.C.
AUGUST 1976

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword 1

I. THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION-1976 5

Information for Delegates 6

National Black Republican Council 7

National Black Republican Convention 9

Schedule of Events 11

Convention Committees 17

Hotel Assignments 23

II. BLACK DELEGATES-1976 27

Black Delegate Representation 28

Roster of Black Delegates and Alternates to the 1976 Republican National Convention 37

III. THE BLACK VOTE 49

The Black Vote in Perspective 50

The Potential Black Vote 55

The Black Youth Vote 62

Black Voter Potential Commentary 66

REFERENCES AND SOURCES OF DATA 67

IV. JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES 69

APPENDIX 75

I. Black Voting Age Population in Cities Over 50,000 with 20% or More Black Population

II. Congressional Districts with 20% or More Black Population

III. The Black Vote in Selected Congressional and Gubernatorial Races, 1974

IV. Black Elected Officials in the United States-1976

V. Tally Sheet: Republican Presidential Nomination-1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The National Black Republican Council, state Republican party headquarters, and local black Republican groups provided invaluable assistance in the production of this guidebook. Their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. National and state campaign headquarters of the presidential candidates, black elected officials, political organizations and individual delegates also provided assistance in compiling this publication.

The Guide to Black Politics, 1976 was prepared by the Joint Center under the supervision of Eleanor Farrar and Jeanne Fox in cooperation with the following members of the research staff: Maybelle Bennett, Sandra Bosworth, Annette Chester, Carol Jaka and Joyce Johnson. Dr. Herrington J. Bryce is Director of Research.

FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political Studies welcomes you to the growing circle of black men and women who are leaders in the political affairs of our country.

You are among 76 black delegates and 74 alternates attending the 1976 Republican National Convention. Blacks are 3.4 percent of the total number of delegates and 3.3 percent of the alternates. In 1972 blacks represented 4.2 percent of the delegate total.

In preparing this Guide to Black Politics, the Joint Center is fulfilling one of its basic missions, namely, to encourage participation at every level of the political process and in a wide variety of ways. We believe that politics is indeed the new cutting edge of the civil rights movement, and that blacks must bring to it the same enthusiasm, determination and conviction that guided their activities in the past. Every aspect of our lives is affected by decisions made in the political arena. Therefore, we must make our presence felt, our voices heard and our numbers count in that arena.

One reality of our system of government is that political parties are essential elements in governance and are frequently the pathway to power. Grassroots politics is, more often than not, party politics. Consequently, we must know how to use party structures and party personnel to achieve our objectives.

Your presence as a delegate or alternate to your party's convention is proof that you understand the roots of political influence and power in our society, and are determined to use your talents on behalf of all those who elected you, and most particularly on behalf of black Americans.

The Joint Center would like to assist you in every way possible to fulfill that task, both during the convention and upon your return home. We believe that you are a most important link in the chain of black political empowerment and your success here and in the future is of special concern to all of us.

This guidebook is a sequel to the Joint Center's 1972 study entitled Guide to Black Politics which was published in two parts. Part I was designed for delegates attending the Democratic National Convention; Part II was for delegates to the Republican National Convention. Each volume contained not only the names and addresses of all black delegates and explanations about convention procedures, but also additional information on various aspects of black participation in politics. The Guide was used widely during the party conventions by delegates, media, staffs of presidential candidates and in fact anyone who wanted to know more about black political involvement.

The 1976 Guide to Black Politics follows the same format, but has been expanded to include a general review of black voter behavior during the primaries; a section on black women in politics; charts and tables on black elected officials in the United States and some information on the Joint Center for Political Studies.

We hope that this year's publication will prove to be as useful as the one published in 1972.

A number of organizations will provide information and assistance to black delegates and alternates, including the National Black Republican Council. The Joint Center will be located in the same office as the NBRC in the Radisson Muehlebach Hotel in Kansas City. Our staff will be glad to be of assistance to you. All you need do is ask. Even if

you do not require our help, we hope that you will stop by. We would like to meet you and explore with you ways in which we can work together to sharpen the edge of black political involvement.

You have our best wishes for a successful and enjoyable convention.

Eddie N. Williams
President
Joint Center for Political Studies

I. THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION - 1976

INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES

The primary source of information on all convention matters is the Republican National Committee (RNC), which will be located in the Radisson Muehlebach Hotel. The National Black Republican Council (the minority affairs section of RNC) and the Joint Center for Political Studies will also be located in this hotel.

The following sections include information about the National Black Republican Council and the National Black Republican Convention (to be held in Kansas City, August 12-14).

Also included is a schedule of convention events, a discussion of convention committees, and a list of hotel assignments.

NATIONAL BLACK REPUBLICAN COUNCIL

The National Black Republican Council (NBRC) was formed in 1972 to represent officially black Republicans at the Republican National Committee, to promote and encourage participation by black groups in party activities and to make recommendations to the RNC on black affairs.

Dr. Henry C. Lucas of San Francisco serves as national chairman. JoAnn Collins, a Kansas City, Mo., council member, is co-chairman. Executive Director John L. Wilks heads the NBRC office at Republican national headquarters in Washington, D. C.

A complete list of NBRC's Executive Committee follows.

1. Dr. Henry C. Lucas - Chairman
   34 Ora Way
   San Francisco, CA

2. Mrs. JoAnn Collins - Co-Chairman
   4030 Bellefontaine
   Kansas City, MO 64130

3. Mr. John L. Wilks - Executive Director
   310 First Street, S.E.
   Washington, D.C. 20003

4. Mrs. Willa Good - Chairman, Northeastern Region
   280 Langdon Terrace
   Mt. Vernon, NY 10553

5. Mr. Jack E. Robinson - Co-Chairman, Northeastern Region
   61 Arborway
   Boston, MA 02130

6. Mr. Robert J. Keyes - Chairman, Western Region
   1443 Edgecliff Lane
   Pasadena, CA 91107

7. Ms. Autumn Keyes - Co-Chairman, Western Region
   1201 Leonard Avenue
   Las Vegas, NV

8. Dr. Robert L. Wright - Chairman, Southern Region
   804-4th Avenue
   Columbus, GA

9. Ms. Charlye Farris - Co-Chairman, Southern Region
921-7th Street
Wichita Falls, TX 76301

10. Mr. George W. Cathcart - Acting Chairman, Midwest Region
3785 Iroquois
Detroit, MI 48214

11. Lillian F. Warren - Co-Chairman, Midwest Region
4901 Portland Avenue, South
Minneapolis, MN 55417

12. Ms. Gloria Toote - General Counsel
282 West 137th Street
Suite 3
New York, N.Y. 10030

13. Mr. Edward Bivens - Secretary - Treasurer
564 Greenwood Avenue
Inkster, MI 48141

14. Mr. Alonzo Hodge - Chairman, Activities Committee
7736 Cornelious Lane
Shreveport, LA

15. Mr. Willie Williams - Chairman, Awards Committee
6023 Two Notch Road
Columbia, SC 29204

16. Mr. Joseph Kinney - Chairman, Campaign Committee
929 NE 81st Street
Oklahoma City, OK 73114

17. Mr. James Cummings - Chairman Elect, Midwest Region
150 W. Market Street
Indianapolis, IN

18. Dr. Lazarus LeMon - Chairman, Health Committee
P.O. Box 5739
Pittsburgh, PA 15200

19. Mr. Lewis Dodds - Chairman, Economic Development Committee
635 Bryant Street
Denver, CO 80204

Denise Garrett
Administrative Assistant to Executive Director

NATIONAL BLACK REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

The National Black Republican Council (NBRC) will hold its first convention August 12 - 14 in Kansas City with delegates from some 24 states expected to attend. The convention will elect NBRC national officers, ratify its constitution, rules and platform, determine program priorities and develop plans for the 1976 general election.

The convention will be hosted by the Black Republican chapters in Missouri and Kansas. Convention headquarters will be at the Breckenridge Inn Hotel, 1601 N. Universal Ave., Kansas City, Mo.

A tentative agenda for the NBRC Convention follows:

Thursday, August 12, 1976

3:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Registration
9:00 p.m.	Reception

Friday, August 13, 1976

8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Registration
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Committee Reports
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Ratification of Constitution, Rules & Platform
	Welcome and Greetings
12:30 p.m. - 2:15 p.m.	Luncheon
2:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	Panel on Elective Politics
4:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	Black Economic Development Panel
7:30 p.m.	V.I.P. Reception
8:30 p.m.	Dinner

Saturday, August 14, 1976

9:00 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.	Opening Plenary Session
	Federal Election Commission and Federal Election Laws
9:00 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.	Certification of Candidates
10:15 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Election Overview
10:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	National Election
11:30 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.	Installation of Officers
11:45 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Presidential Election Involvement

In addition, the National Black Republican Council will host a breakfast with the Honorable Mary Louise Smith, Republican National Committee chair, on Saturday, August 14, at 8 a.m. in the Main Ballroom of the Breckenridge Hotel.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS
(Subject to Change)

NOTE: Many of these events will have been concluded before most delegates arrive in Kansas City.

Activities of special interest to blacks are indicated by an asterisk in the "Function" column.

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Sunday, August 8		
4 pm	Trianon Room Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Organizing Session (Executive Session)
6:30 pm	Colonial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Reception for Members
Monday, August 9		
9 am - 12 Noon	Music Hall Municipal Auditorium	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Hearings
1:30 pm - 5 pm	Phillips Hotel Holiday Inn-Downtown	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Subcommittee Hearings
10 am - 12 Noon	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules of Republican National Committee
12 Noon - 2 pm	Bingham Room Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules of Republican National Committee Reception and Luncheon
2 pm - 5 pm	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules of Republican National Committee Continuation of Meeting
Tuesday, August 10		
9 am - 12 Noon	Music Hall Municipal Auditorium	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Hearings
1:30 pm - 5 pm	Phillips Hotel Holiday Inn-Downtown	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Subcommittee Hearings
10 am - 12 Noon	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules of Republican National Committee (Final Meeting)
12 Noon - 2 pm	Bingham Room Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules of Republican National Committee Reception and Luncheon

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Tuesday, August 10 (continued)		
2 pm - 5 pm	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules of Republican National Committee Conclusion of Final Meeting
9 am - 5 pm	Terrace Grill Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Contests of Republican National Committee
9 am - 5 pm	Junior & Grand Ballrooms Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Arrangements Final Meeting
12:30 pm - 2 pm	Colonial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Arrangements Reception and Luncheon
Wednesday, August 11		
9 am - 12 Noon	Music Hall Municipal Auditorium	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Hearings
1:30 pm - 5 pm	Phillips Hotel Holiday Inn-Downtown	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Subcommittee Hearings
10 am - 5 pm	Junior & Grand Ballrooms Radisson Muehlebach	Republican National Committee Final Meeting of Current Committee
12 Noon - 2 pm	Colonial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Republican National Committee Reception and Luncheon
Thursday, August 12		
9 am - 5 pm	Music Hall Municipal Auditorium	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (Executive Session)
Friday, August 13		
9 am - 5 pm	Music Hall Municipal Auditorium	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Full Committee Meeting (Executive Session)
Saturday, August 14		
8 am	Main Ballroom Breckenridge Hotel	*National Black Republican Council Breakfast with the Honorable Mary Louise Smith, Chairman, Republican National Committee
2 pm	Municipal Auditorium	First Briefing Session for Pages
2 pm - 5 pm	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules and Order of Business -- 1st Meeting

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Saturday, August 14	(continued)	
7 pm	Colonial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Reception and Dinner for Members of Republican National Committee and spouses (current committee) (By Invitation) Hostess: The Honorable Mary Louise Smith, Chairman
Sunday, August 15		
10 am - 5 pm	Grand Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Rules and Order of Business
10:30 am - 12:30 pm	Oxford-Windsor Rooms Phillips Hotel	Buffet Brunch (By Invitation) Host: Gannett News Service
12 Noon - 2 pm	Carriage Club Kansas City Country Club Mission Hills Country Club	Press Party for Media Attending National Convention (By Invitation) Hosts: Kansas City Business Community
1 pm - 2:30 pm	Colonial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Rules and Order of Business Luncheon
2 pm - 5 pm	Aztec Room The President Hotel	*National Black Republican Council Caucus for Black Delegates and Alternates
To be announced	Kemper Arena	2nd Briefing Session for Pages at Convention Hall (arrangements will be announced at 1st session)
5 pm - 7 pm	William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art	Reception to Honor Distinguished Guests of the Republican National Convention (By Invitation) Hosts: Governor and Mrs. Christopher Bond and the Missouri Republican Host Committee, Inc.
To be announced	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Reception to Honor the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Vice President of the United States (By Invitation) Host: The New York Delegation
7:30 pm	Colonial and Imperial Ballrooms Radisson Muehlebach	Republican Round-up (By Invitation) Host: National Republican Senatorial Committee
Monday, August 16		
7:30 am	Holiday Inn-Airport	Breakfast to Honor the Honorable Elliot Richardson, Secretary of Commerce (By Invitation) Host: The Massachusetts Delegation

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Monday, August 16 (continued)		
10:30 am	Kemper Arena	1st Session of 1976 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Welcoming speeches, official action on convention committees, election of Temporary Chairman, presentations, speeches.
2 pm - 5 pm	River Hills Penthouse Suite	*National Black Republican Council Open House Host: Leroy Tombs
3 pm - 5 pm	Grand Ballroom Continental Hotel	Committee on Rules and Order of Business Meeting
3 pm - 5 pm	Terrace Grill Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Credentials Meeting
3 pm - 5 pm	Imperial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Permanent Organization Meeting
3 pm - 5 pm	Trianon Room Radisson Muehlebach	Committee on Resolutions (Platform) Final Meeting (Executive Session)
4 pm - 6 pm	Racquet Club	National Republican Heritage Groups Council Reception (By Invitation)
5 pm - 7 pm	Colonial Room Radisson Muehlebach	Reception in Honor of the Republican Governors, the Republican Members of the 94th Congress, and the Chairmen of State Delegations to the 31st Republican National Convention (By Invitation) Hosts: The Honorable and Mrs. John J. Rhodes
7 pm	Kemper Arena	2nd Session of 1976 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Temporary Chairman receives gavel from Chairman of Republican National Committee, adress by Temporary Chairman, Keynote Presentation
8:30 pm	Union Station Kansas City	Second Union Station Massacre (Open to Public - Admission Charge) Hosts: Jackson, Clay & Platte Co. Young Republicans
Tuesday, August 17		
8:17 am - 5 pm	London Room Phillips Hotel	"Making Your PAC Work" Seminar sponsored by the Republican National Committee

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Tuesday, August 17	(continued)	
10:30 am - 1 pm	International Ballroom Alameda Plaza Hotel	Brunch for Republican Women Leaders (By Invitation) Hostess: Mrs. Patricia Hutar President, National Federation of Republican Women
11:30 am	Oxford-Windsor Rooms Phillips Hotel	"Making Your PAC Work" Seminar sponsored by the Republican National Committee Luncheon
12 Noon - 2 pm	Arrowhead Stadium Inn	Women's Political Caucus Luncheon Host: Eastern Jackson County Women's Political Caucus
2 pm - 5 pm	Ballroom The President Hotel	*National Black Republican Council Panel on Black Employment
2:30 pm - 5 pm	Truman Library Independence, MO	Reception for All Visiting Republican Mayors (By Invitation) Host: The Mayor of Independence
3 pm - 5 pm	Kansas City Museum of History and Science	Tea and Special Bicentennial Exhibit for Women Delegates and Alternates and wives of Delegates and Alternates (By Invitation) Hosted by: Women's Division of the Kansas City Museum
4 pm - 7 pm	Music Hall Municipal Auditorium	Entertainment Program Host: Young Republican National Federation
7 pm	Kemper Arena	3rd Session of 1976 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Action on the reports of the Committees on (1) Credentials; (2) Rules and Order of Business; (3) Permanent Organization; and (4) Resolutions (Platform) The Permanent Chairman receives gavel from Temporary Chairman
Wednesday, August 18		
8 am	Holiday Inn-Airport	*Breakfast in honor of the Honorable Edward W. Brooke, U.S. Senate Host: The Massachusetts Delegation
9 am - 12 Noon	Imperial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Republican Women's Seminar sponsored by the National Federation of Republican Women

DATE	PLACE	FUNCTION
Wednesday, August 18 (continued)		
12 Noon - 2 pm	Colonial and Grand Ballrooms Radisson Muehlebach	United Republican Victory Luncheon (By Invitation) Hosts: The Republican National Committee and the United Republican Victory Luncheon Committee
2 pm - 5 pm	Ballroom The President Hotel	*National Black Republican Council Panel on Black Economic Development
3 pm - 5 pm	Kansas City Museum of History and Science	Tea and Special Bicentennial Exhibit for Women Delegates and Alternates and Wives of Delegates and Alternates (By Invitation) Hosted by: Women's Division of the Kansas City Museum
7 pm	Kemper Arena	4th Session of 1976 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Nomination and Election of Candidate for President; Election of New National Committee
Thursday, August 19		
9 am - 12 Noon	Imperial Ballroom Radisson Muehlebach	Republican Women's Seminar sponsored by the National Federation of Republican Women
3 pm - 5 pm	Ballroom The President Hotel	*National Black Republican Council Reception
6:30 pm	Kemper Arena	5th Session of the 1976 Republican National Convention
	Major Business:	Nomination and Election of Candidate for Vice President Acceptance Speeches
Friday, August 20		
8 am	Junior, Grand and Imperial Ballrooms Radisson Muehlebach	Republican National Committee Meeting to organize and elect Officers
12 Noon	To be Announced	Young Republican National Federation Executive and National Committee Meetings

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

The four committees for the Republican National Convention are as follows:

1. Committee on Credentials
2. Committee on Resolutions (Platform)
3. Committee on Rules and Order of Business
4. Committee on Permanent Organization

Each state delegation is entitled to one female delegate and one male delegate on each of the four committees. No delegate may serve on more than one convention committee.

The Joint Center has identified one black delegate serving on the Committee on Rules and Order of Business - Geraldine Jones of New York - but no blacks on the other three committees.

The following sections describe each committee, its functions and its scheduled meetings.

1. Committee on Credentials

This committee receives the credentials of all delegates and alternates and determines the permanent roll of the convention. Credentials committee members may also sit in on hearings on contests before the National Committee. At press time, no credentials challenges were expected.

The committee is scheduled to hold its first meeting on Monday, August 16, after the first convention session, and it will continue to meet until its work is completed. Members will be notified regarding the time and place of subsequent meetings.

2. Committee on Resolutions (Platform)

The function of the platform committee is to draft the Republican Party's platform - the statement of national political goals for the next four years. The committee will hold its first meeting on Sunday, August 8, and will hold hearings during that week.

A temporary platform committee was formed several months ago and the committee has conducted hearings in cities around the country. Information on issues to be included in the party platform was gathered during the hearings. Subcommittee members were assigned to study the following issue areas: Foreign policy; human rights and responsibilities; human resources; government concerns and the consent of the governed; community and national development; conservation, energy and natural resources; and agriculture, business, and economic development.

The views of black Republicans will be presented to the platform committee by Mr. Robert Keyes, National Chairman of the Policies and Issues Committee of NBRC. His statement will be available in Kansas City.

Issues of importance to black Americans and which are expected to be discussed include:

1. The relationship of unemployment to jobs in the private sector with emphasis on incentives.
2. The continuing need for affirmative action requirements in Federal programs.
3. The stimulation of minority business enterprise.
4. The reform of the welfare system and the establishment of a guaranteed national income.
5. The need for a national health care program.
6. The development of foreign policy objectives toward Africa.
7. The need for tax reform.
8. The importance of housing and community development and transportation.

3. Committee on Rules and Order of Business

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business will meet a few days before the convention starts, tentatively on August 14, to draft rules to be adopted by the convention. The rules will determine convention proceedings, Republican

National Committee organization, and membership in the next national convention.

Rule 29 of the 1972 Republican convention authorized the appointment of a committee to review and study that convention's rules. The so-called Rule 29 Committee, appointed in 1973, submitted a final report to the Republican National Committee in December 1974. The National Committee approved the Rule 29 Committee recommendations in March 1975 and then referred the report to the permanent Rules Committee on the National Committee.

The RNC's Rules Committee will consider the recommendations at a series of meetings to be held August 9 - 11. It will then refer its recommendations to the Convention Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Upon approval by this committee, the recommendations will be presented to the convention for final approval and adoption.

The three blacks serving on the Rule 29 Committee are: Dr. Henry Lucas, Jr., chairman of the National Black Republican Council; Senator Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts; and Robert J. Brown, former Special Assistant to the President.

The Rule 29 Committee report includes recommendations which require positive action to prevent discrimination in party activities (Rule 32), National Committee membership (Rule 19), Executive Committee Membership (Rule 26), and Presidential campaign financing (Rule 24).

Rule 32 - Of particular importance to minorities are the recommendations regarding Rule 32. Rule 32 prohibits discrimination in Republican delegate selection activities and directs the National Committee and the state committees to "take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation" in party affairs by women, young people, minority and heritage groups, and senior citizens. The only rules change recommended is the addition of a statement that Rule 32 is "not intended to be the basis of any kind of quota system."

In an accompanying interpretation of Rule 32, the Rule 29 Committee sets forth specific guidelines to help the states meet their obligation to take positive action. In order to disseminate information about party activities and delegate selection as widely as possible, the report recommends that state committees:

1. Publish in advance the dates, places, and details of party meetings relating to delegate selection (for example, by printing information in party publications and providing news releases for the media);
2. Conduct out-reach workshops on the delegate selection process and make available knowledgeable speakers to operate out-reach programs and disseminate party information to geographic and cultural areas traditionally underrepresented in the party;
3. Publish and distribute a pamphlet on "How to Become a Delegate";
4. Establish a calendar of events including activities of groups with whom the party wants to establish rapport;
5. Hold local subhearings to encourage the widest possible participation in platform and rules committee hearings;
6. Place special emphasis on attracting women, young people, minority groups, heritage groups, and senior citizens;
7. Strictly honor the rule prohibiting the charging of fees as a condition for serving as a delegate and try to make participation as inexpensive as possible;
8. Establish a broadly representative state Rule 29 committee;
9. Provide examples to the National Committee of materials and activities, including educational programs on the delegate selection process, designed to give all citizens the opportunity to participate in party affairs regardless of race, creed, national origin, religion, sex, or age.

These provisions are not intended to be the exclusive means of reaching the objectives and are not binding on the states. A state committee's "formulation and reasonable implementation of a state effort substantially in compliance" with the recommendations shall be considered a good faith effort to meet the Rule 32 requirements.

Rule 19 - A proposed change in rules would affect Rule 19. It would increase the membership of the Republican National Committee by adding the following individuals: the chair or president of each of the national Republican party auxiliaries, including the National Black Republican Council; as well as two members of the Republican Governors Association; two Republican Senators; and two Republican Representatives.

The Rule 29 Committee report includes majority and minority opinions on the Rule 19 recommendation. In the majority view, expanded National Committee membership is intended to secure closer liaison between the party and its auxiliaries and increase input from Republican governors, senators, and representatives. The majority believes its recommendation would signal broadening of the party. It makes the point that, since these additional members are presently Executive Committee members, it would be logical for them to be members of the full National Committee.

The minority opposes the addition of National Committee members who are not state representatives. National Committee membership is attained by working up through the ranks, the minority believes, and broadening of the party at higher levels necessarily follows. The minority argues that liaison with auxiliaries is better accomplished by the present system, whereby chairs of auxiliaries are members of the 15-member Executive Committee although not of the National Committee. It warns that the majority recommendation is a token gesture and would tend to dilute or weaken the National Committee.

Rule 26 - Another recommendation in the report concerns Rule 26. It specifies that the chair of the National Black Republican Council, rather than

"a representative of black Republican organizations as designated by the Chairman" should be the member of the Executive Committee. Dr. Henry Lucas, Jr., the current representative, is the National Black Republican Council chair.

Rule 24 - To assure Republican Party input into and some control over Republican presidential campaigns, the Rule 29 Committee recommends that the National Committee chair appoint a seven-member Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Affairs. Republican presidential and vice presidential candidates would be required to agree before nomination to submit, to the Select Committee, a full plan of financial expenditures and periodic reports during the campaign "to insure that all expenditures are in full accordance not only with the law, but with established ethical practices for political campaigns."

The Rule 29 Committee also opposes federal campaign financing, believing it "must inevitably lead to federal domination of the nominative and elective process." The committee strongly supports legal action to enjoin the distribution of funds for all national conventions.

4. Committee on Permanent Organization

This committee is scheduled to meet on August 16 to act on the National Committee's recommendations concerning the officers of the convention.

A slate of convention officers drawn up by the RNC's arrangements committee was approved by the RNC in late June 1976. The permanent organization committee will present the slate to the convention for ratification.

HOTEL ASSIGNMENTS

The headquarters hotel for the convention, as well as for the National Black Republican Council and JCPS, will be the Radisson Muehlebach. The President Ford Committee will be located in the Crown Center Hotel, along with the Michigan delegation. The Citizens for Reagan Committee will be in the Alameda Plaza Hotel, headquarters for the California delegation.

A complete list of hotel assignments follows.

STATE	HOTEL
ALABAMA	RAMADA INN SOUTHEAST 6101 E. 87th Street Kansas City, Mo. 64138 (816) 765-4331
ALASKA	HOLIDAY INN KCI 11832 Plaza Circle Kansas City, Mo. 64151 (816) 464-2345
ARIZONA	HOLIDAY INN TOWERS 424 Minnesota Avenue Kansas City, Kansas 66101 (913) 342-6919
ARKANSAS	HOWARD JOHNSON'S NORTH 1600 NE. Russell Road Kansas City, Mo. 64116 (816) 453-5210
CALIFORNIA Citizens for Reagan	*ALAMEDA PLAZA HOTEL Wornall Road at Ward Pkwy. Kansas City, Mo. 64112 (816) 756-1500
	HILTON PLAZA INN 1 East 45th Street Kansas City, Mo. 64111 (816) 753-7400
	HOWARD JOHNSON'S LENEXA 12381 W. 95th Street Lenexa, Kansas 66215 (913) 888-9400
	HOLIDAY INN - LENEXA I-35 at 95th Street Lenexa, Kansas 66220 (913) 888-6670
COLORADO	RODEWAY INN OVERLAND PARK 7000 W. 108th Street Overland Park, Kansas 66211 (913) 383-2550
CONNECTICUT	HOLIDAY INN FUN WORLD 7333 Parvin Road Kansas City, Mo. 64117 (816) 455-1060
DELAWARE	RAMADA INN KCI 7301 N.W. Tiffany Springs Rd. Kansas City, Mo. 64153 (816) 741-9500
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	HOLIDAY INN MUNICIPAL 1st N. & Broadway Kansas City, Mo. 64116 (816) 842-6700
FLORIDA	MARRIOTT HOTEL 775 Brasilia Kansas City, Mo. 64195 (816) 464-2200
GEORGIA	RAMADA INN SOUTH 107 County Line Road Belton, Mo. 64102 (816) 331-6300
GUAM	ROYAL INN KCI 11828 Plaza Circle Kansas City, Mo. 64151 (816) 464-2525
HAWAII	ROYAL INN KCI 11828 Plaza Circle Kansas City, Mo. 64151 (816) 464-2525
IDAHO	BEST WESTERN SOUTH (also known as Hickman Mills Motor Inn or Rodeway Inn South) 115 & South 71 Hwy. Kansas City, Mo. 64137 (816) 765-4100
ILLINOIS	HOLIDAY INN GARDENS 425 Minnesota Avenue Kansas City, Kansas 66101 (913) 621-3085
	*HILTON PLAZA INN 1 East 45th Street Kansas City, Mo. 64111 (816) 753-7400
INDIANA	QUALITY INN EAST 1110 N. 7 Hwy. Blue Springs, Mo. 64015 (816) 229-6363
IOWA	PROM SHERATON 6th & Main Kansas City, Mo. 64106 (816) 842-6090

STATE	HOTEL
KANSAS	HOLIDAY INN MUNICIPAL 1st N. & Broadway Kansas City, Mo. 64116 (816) 842-6700
KENTUCKY	RAMADA INN SOUTHWEST 8787 Reeder Road Overland Park, Kansas 66214 (913) 888-8440
LOUISIANA	RAMADA INN KCI 7301 N.W. Tiffany Springs Rd. Kansas City, Mo. 64153 (816) 741-9500
MAINE	HOLIDAY INN OVERLAND PARK 7240 W. 63rd Overland, Park, Kansas 66222 (913) 262-3010
MARYLAND	HOWARD JOHNSON'S EAST 4200 Noland Rd. South Independence, Mo. 64055 (816) 461-8856
MASSACHUSETTS	HOLIDAY INN KCI 11832 Plaza Circle Kansas City, Mo. 64151 (816) 464-2345
MICHIGAN President Ford Committee White House	CROWN CENTER HOTEL 1 Pershing Road Kansas City, Mo. 64108 (816) 474-4400
MINNESOTA	HOLIDAY INN DOWNTOWN 13th & Wyandotte Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 221-8800
MISSISSIPPI	RAMADA INN EAST 4141 S. Noland Road Independence, Mo. 64055 (816) 833-4300
MISSOURI	HOLIDAY INN DOWNTOWN 13th & Wyandotte Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 221-8800
MONTANA	HOLIDAY INN OVERLAND PARK 7240 W 63rd Overland Park, Kansas 66222 (913) 262-3010
NEBRASKA	HOLIDAY INN SOUTH 11801 Blue Ridge Ext. Kansas City, Mo. 64131 (816) 763-0600
NEVADA	RODEWAY INN NORTH 1211 Armour North Kansas City, Mo. 64116 (816) 471-3451
NEW HAMPSHIRE	HOLIDAY INN BLUE PARKWAY 8500 E. 50 Hwy., Blue Pkwy. Kansas City, Mo. 64133 (816) 353-3000
NEW JERSEY	BRECKENRIDGE INN I-435 & Front Street Kansas City, Mo. 64120 (816) 483-9900
NEW MEXICO	COLONIAL BEST WESTERN 3930 Rainbow Blvd. Kansas City, Kansas 66103 (913) 236-6880
NEW YORK	*CONTINENTAL HOTEL 11th & Baltimore Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 421-6040
	PHILLIPS HOUSE HOTEL 12th & Baltimore Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 471-5020
NORTH CAROLINA	HOLIDAY INN SPORTS COMPLEX 4011 Blue Ridge Cut-off Kansas City, Mo. 64133 (816) 353-5300
NORTH DAKOTA	RODEWAY INN NORTH 1211 Armour North Kansas City, Mo. 64116 (816) 471-3451
OHIO	HOLIDAY INN SPORTS COMPLEX 4011 Blue Ridge Cut-off Kansas City, Mo. 64133 (816) 353-5300
	*SHERATON ROYAL HOTEL 9103 E. 39th Street Kansas City, Mo. 64133 (816) 737-0200

STATE	HOTEL
OKLAHOMA	RAMADA INN KCI 7301 N.W. Tiffany Springs Rd. Kansas City, Mo. 64153 (816) 741-9500
OREGON	RAMADA INN STADIUM 5100 E. Linwood Kansas City, Mo. 64128 (816) 861-5600
PENNSYLVANIA	HILTON AIRPORT PLAZA INN (former Plaza Inn International) I-29 N.W. 112th Street Kansas City, Mo. 64195 (816) 891-8900
PUERTO RICO	ROYAL INN KCI 11828 Plaza Circle Kansas City, Mo. 64151 (816) 464-2525
RHODE ISLAND	HOLIDAY INN DOWNTOWN 13th & Wyandotte Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 221-8800
SOUTH CAROLINA	U-SMILE STADIUM INN 7901 New 40 Hwy. Kansas City, Mo. 64129 (816) 861-9400
SOUTH DAKOTA	MISSION INN 7508 W. 63rd Street Shawnee Mission, Kansas 66202 (913) 262-9600
TENNESSEE	THE INN (former Hilton) 7th & Washington Kansas City, Mo. 64106 (816) 421-1800
TEXAS	*GLENWOOOD MANOR 9200 S. 69 Hwy. Overland Park, Kansas 66212 (913) 649-7000
	RODEWAY INN OVERLAND PARK 7000 W. 108th Street Overland Park, Kansas 66211 (913) 383-2550
UTAH	RAMADA INN LAWRENCE 6th & Iowa Lawrence, Kansas 66044 (913) 842-7030
VERMONT	PRESIDENT HOTEL 14th & Baltimore Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 471-5440
VIRGINIA	SHERATON INN SOUTH 15201 S. 71 Hwy. Grandview, Mo. 64030 (816) 331-1200
VIRGIN ISLANDS	HOLIDAY INN DOWNTOWN 13th & Wyandotte Kansas City, Mo. 64105 (816) 221-8800
WASHINGTON	HOLIDAY INN TOWERS 424 Minnesota Avenue Kansas City, Kansas 66101 (913) 342-6919
WEST VIRGINIA	WESTERN HILLS W. 67th Street & I-35 Merriam, Kansas 66202 (913) 432-9400
WISCONSIN	PROM SHERATON 6th & Main Kansas City, Mo. 64106 (816) 842-6090
WYOMING	MARRIOTT HOTEL 775 Brasilia Kansas City, Mo. 64195 (816) 464-2200

* Headquarters hotel for the State if State is assigned to more than one hotel.

II. BLACK DELEGATES - 1976

BLACK DELEGATE REPRESENTATION

There were 65 black delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1912. In 1976, there are 76 black delegates. During this 64-year period, a cumulative total of 1,211 black delegates and alternates participated in Republican National Conventions.

Participation by black delegates has ranged from a high of six percent of all delegates in 1912, to a low of one percent in 1964. During the seventeen conventions since 1912, the percentage of black delegates has dropped from that of the preceding year nine times and has increased seven times. The largest percentage gains were made in 1936 and in 1972. In both years, the percentage of black delegates more than doubled over that of the previous convention.

The 76 delegates who will participate in the 1976 convention represent the largest number of black delegates to attend a Republican National Convention. Although there are 20 more black delegates this year than there were in 1972, there is a percentage decrease from 4.2 percent to 3.4 percent. This occurs because the total number of delegates attending this convention increased by 68 percent.

Seventy-four black alternates -3.3 percent of all alternates- will attend the 1976 Republican convention. This is a decrease from the 1972 convention, when 84 black alternates (six percent) participated.

A look at the 1976 black delegate representation to the Republican Convention reveals that:

-The percentage of black delegates increased in the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands and in ten states -Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Wisconsin.

The District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands, both predominantly black, have the highest percentages of black delegates. In the District of Columbia (71.1 percent black), 42.9 percent of delegates are black. In the Virgin Islands (80 percent black), half of the delegates are black.

- In Michigan, Minnesota and Oregon the percentage of black delegates is greater than the state's percentage of black population.

- Twelve states with black delegations -California, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin- have percentages of black delegates which are within four percentage points of the percentage of blacks in the state population.

- In sixteen states and territories, the number of black delegates increased over the 1972 black delegate count.

- The number of black delegates decreased in eleven states - Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina and South Carolina and Virginia.

- The percentage of black delegates decreased in 22 states. Among these 22 states, seven had black delegations in 1972 but have no black delegate representation in 1976.

- Twenty-seven states and territories have no black delegates although seven of these do have at least one black alternate.

Black Republicans feel that the Republican party should encourage the participation of other blacks. The importance of the black vote, particularly in close political races (see Section III) is evident. In addition blacks represent about 11 percent of the total national population. It is certainly reasonable to use the national population standard as a goal for black representation in the total delegation to the Republican National Convention.

BLACK WOMEN

Women of voting age represent 52.5 percent of the total voting age population. Black women, who number about 12,592,000, are 52.3 percent of the total black population.

Of the 76 black delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention, 29, or about 38 percent, are women. In 1972 black women comprised only about 29 percent of the black Republican delegates.

Among the 74 black alternates to the 1976 Republican convention, 31 (42 percent) are women. In 1972, black women were 46 percent of black alternates.

Participation within the structure of national political parties is only one of many forms of political activity chosen by black women. For example, as of June, 1976, 684 black women were holding elective public offices.

BLACK DELEGATE REPRESENTATION AT 1968, 1972 AND 1976 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

State/Percent Black Pop[1]		Number Black Delegates		Percent Black Delegates		
		1976	1972	1976	1972	1968[2]
Alabama	26.2	1	1	2.7	5.5	0
Alaska	3.0	0	0	0	0	0
Arizona	3.0	0	1	0	5.5	0
Arkansas	18.3	0	3	0	16.6	11.0
California	7.0	5	4	3.0	4.1	1.0
Colorado	3.0	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	6.0	1	0	2.9	0	0
Delaware	14.3	1	2	5.9	16.7	1.0
Dist. of Columbia	71.1	6	3	42.9	33.3	33.0
Florida	15.3	1	1	1.5	2.5	0
Georgia	25.9	1	1	2.1	4.1	4.0
Hawaii	1.0	0	0	0	0	0
Idaho	0.3	0	0	0	0	0
Illinois	12.8	8	2	7.9	3.4	3.0
Indiana	6.9	2	1	3.7	3.1	3.0
Iowa	1.2	0	1	0	4.5	0
Kansas	4.8	1	1	2.9	5.0	11.0
Kentucky	7.2	0	1	0	4.1	0
Louisiana	29.8	1	2	2.4	10.0	0
Maine	0.3	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	17.8	3	3	7.0	11.5	11.0
Massachusetts	3.1	1	0	2.3	0	6.0
Michigan	7.2	7	5	8.3	10.4	2.0
Minnesota	0.9	1	1	2.4	3.8	0
Mississippi	36.8	2	1	6.7	7.1	0
Missouri	10.3	1	1	2.0	3.3	0
Montana	0.3	0	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	2.7	0	0	0	0	0
Nevada	5.7	0	1	0	8.3	0
New Hampshire	0.3	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	10.7	1	2	1.5	5.0	0
New Mexico	1.9	0	0	0	0	0
New York	11.9	11	8	7.1	9.0	4.5

State/Percent Black Pop[1]		Number Black Delegates 1976	1972	Percent Black Delegates 1976	1972	1968[2]
North Carolina	22.2	0	2	0	6.2	0
North Dakota	0.4	0	0	0	0	0
Ohio	9.1	5	1	5.2	1.8	1.5
Oklahoma	6.7	1	0	2.8	0	0
Oregon	1.3	1	0	3.3	0	0
Pennsylvania	8.6	7	1	6.8	1.7	1.5
Rhode Island	2.7	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	30.5	0	1	0	4.5	0
South Dakota	0.2	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	15.8	3	1	7.0	3.8	0
Texas	12.5	0	0	0	0	0
Utah	0.6	0	0	0	0	0
Vermont	0.2	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	18.5	1	3	2.0	10.0	0
Washington	2.1	0	0	0	0	0
West Virginia	3.9	0	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	2.9	1	0	2.2	0	0
Wyoming	0.8	0	0	0	0	0
Guam	-	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	-	0	0	0	0	0
Virgin Islands	80.0	2	1	50.0	33.3	0
TOTALS	11.2	76	56	3.4	4.2	1.9

[1]U.S. Bureau of the Census; Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-B1 United States Summary; U.S. Government Printing Office; Washington, D.C.; 1972.

[2]Republican National Committee.

BLACK DELEGATE REPRESENTATION AT 1976 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

State/Percent Black Pop[1]		Total Number Delegates[2]	Number Black Delegates	Number Black Alternates	Percent Black Delegates	Percent Black Alternates
Alabama	26.2	37	1	0	2.7	0
Alaska	3.0	19	0	0	0	0
Arizona	3.0	29	0	0	0	0
Arkansas	18.3	27	0	1	0	3.7
California	7.0	167	5	3	3.0	1.8
Colorado	3.0	31	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	6.0	35	1	0	2.9	0
Delaware	14.3	17	1	1	5.9	5.9
Dist. of Columbia	71.1	14	6	4	42.9	28.6
Florida	15.3	66	1	0	1.5	0
Georgia	25.9	48	1	3	2.1	6.3
Hawaii	1.0	19	0	0	0	0
Idaho	0.3	21	0	0	0	0
Illinois	12.8	101	8	6	7.9	5.9
Indiana	6.9	54	2	2	3.7	3.7
Iowa	1.2	36	0	1	0	2.8
Kansas	4.8	34	1	3	2.9	8.8
Kentucky	7.2	37	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	29.8	41	1	1	2.4	2.4
Maine	0.3	20	0	0	0	0
Maryland	17.8	43	3	2	7.0	4.7
Massachusetts	3.1	43	1	0	2.3	0
Michigan	7.2	84	7	7	8.3	8.3
Minnesota	0.9	42	1	0	2.4	0
Mississippi	36.8	30	2	2	6.7	6.7
Missouri	10.3	49	1	1	2.0	2.0
Montana	0.3	20	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	2.7	25	0	0	0	0
Nevada	5.7	18	0	1	0	5.6
New Hampshire	0.3	21	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	10.7	67	1	4	1.5	6.0
New Mexico	1.9	21	0	0	0	0

State/Percent Black Pop[1]		Total Number Delegates[2]	Number Black Delegates	Number Black Alternates	Percent Black Delegates	Percent Black Alternates
New York	11.9	154	11	8	7.1	5.2
North Carolina	22.2	54	0	1	0	1.9
North Dakota	0.4	18	0	0	0	0
Ohio	9.1	97	5	6	5.2	6.2
Oklahoma	6.7	36	1	1	2.8	2.8
Oregon	1.3	30	1	0	3.3	0
Pennsylvania	8.6	103	7	4	6.8	3.9
Rhode Island	2.7	19	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	30.5	36	0	2	0	5.6
South Dakota	0.2	20	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	15.8	43	3	3	7.0	7.0
Texas	12.5	100	0	1	0	1.0
Utah	0.6	20	0	1	0	5.0
Vermont	0.2	18	0	0	0	0
Virginia	18.5	51	1	1	2.0	2.0
Washington	2.1	38	0	0	0	0
West Virginia	3.9	28	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	2.9	45	1	2	2.2	4.4
Wyoming	0.8	17	0	0	0	0
Guam	-	4	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	-	8	0	0	0	0
Virgin Islands	80.0	4	2	2	50.0	50.0
TOTALS	11.2	2,259	76	74	3.4	3.3

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census; Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-B1 United States Summary; U.S. Government Printing Office; Washington, D.C.; 1972.

[2] The number of alternates is equal to the number of delegates in each state. The total number of delegates is equal to the number of delegate votes. No fractional votes are allowed.

BLACK DELEGATES AT REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS
1912 - 1976

Election Year	Total Number Delegates	Number Black Delegates	Percent Black Delegates	Number Black Alternates	Total Black Delegates and Alternates
1912	1,078	65	6.0	*	65
1916	985	35	3.5	*	35
1920	984	29	2.9	*	29
1924	1,109	39	3.5	1	40
1928	1,098	49	4.4	55	104
1932	1,154	26	2.2	27	53
1936	1,003	45	4.5	34	79
1940	1,000	32	3.2	53	85
1944	1,057	18	1.7	27	45
1948	1,094	41	3.7	34	75
1952	1,206	29	2.4	34	63
1956	1,323	36	2.7	41	77
1960	1,331	22	1.6	28	50
1964	1,308	14	1.0	29	43
1968	1,333	26	1.9	52	78
1972	1,348	56	4.2	84	140
1976	2,259	76	3.4	74	150
TOTALS	20,670	638	3.1	573	1,211

* Alternates not specified.

Sources: Negro Year Book, 1931-32, and Republican National Conventions, 1912-68.

ROSTER OF BLACK DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE 1976 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

The following list of black delegates and alternates was compiled by Joint Center staff and is complete to the best of our knowledge as of July 28, 1976.

Alabama

Delegates	Alternates
Thomas L. Hurt 715 Washington Ave. Birmingham, AL 35211	None

Arkansas

None	Elijah Coleman Route 4, Box 208A Pine Bluff, AR 71601

California

Peter Dauterive 4351 Mt. Vernon Dr. Los Angeles, CA 90043	James Flournoy 4155 Mt. Vernon Dr. Los Angeles, CA 90008
Wendell T. Handy 13714 S. Wilmington Ave. Compton, CA 90222	James E. Stratten 662 15th Ave. San Francisco, Ca 94118
Ms. Stephanie E. Lee 3939 Roxanne #7 Los Angeles, CA 90008	Charles C. Thomas 3807 6th Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90008
Henry Lucas Jr. 34 Ora Way San Francisco, CA 94131	
James M. Woods 2509 West Rosecranes Los Angeles, CA 90059	

Connecticut

Delegates

Ms. Shirley Scott
766 Tower Ave.
Hartford, CT 06112

Alternates

None

Delaware

Ms. Dimetria D. Ford
404 E. 5th St.
Wilmington, DE 19801

Ms. Mary Simm
201 E. 14th St.
Wilmington, DE 19801

District of Columbia

Melvin M. Burton Jr.
700 7th St., S.W.
Washington, DC 20024

Joseph C. McLaughlin
5355 32nd St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20015

Jerry A. Moore Jr.
1612 Buchanan St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20011

Ms. Virginia Morris
3107 W St., S.E.
Washington, DC 20020

Ms. Marjorie H. Parker
3115 Fessenden St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

Ms. Maxine W. Snowden
1628 15th St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

Berkeley G. Burrell
1346 Jackson St., N.E.
Washington, DC 20017

Ms. Jeannine S. Clark
1844 Randolph St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20011

Ms. Audrey Rowe Colom
2300 Good Hope Rd., S.E.
Washington, DC 20020

Samuel C. Jackson
1855 Upshur St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20011

Florida

Robert L. Mitchell Sr.
P.O. Box 2701
West Palm Beach, FL 33401

None

Georgia

John McNeill
445 Bowen Blvd.
Columbus, GA 31907

Enola Byrd
2822 Handy Dr., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30318

Georgia, continued

Delegates

Alternates

Solomon M. Jenkins
2024 Milledgeville Rd.
Augusta, GA 30901

Dudley Kelley
3208 Urban Ave.
Columbus, GA 31907

Illinois

John Tobias Dixon
9000 So. Marshfield Ave.
Chicago, IL 60620

Ms. Lovelyn J. Evans
7342 S. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr.
Chicago, IL

Ms. Grace M. Foster
200 No. Keeler Ave.
Chicago, IL 60624

Ms. Marie Goodlow
8507 So. Ashland Ave.
Chicago, IL 60620

Robert H. Holloway
6815 So. Michigan
Chicago, IL

Eddie Mack Jones
7521 So. Normal Ave.
Chicago, IL 60620

Ms. Hazel Stillwell
5535 So. Lafayette Ave.
Chicago, IL 60621

Hamilton B. Talbert Jr.
4906 So. Drexel Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60615

Curtis Foster
200 No. Keeler Ave.
Chicago, IL 60624

John Gardner Huff
10447 S. Oakley
Chicago, IL

Ms. Viola Montoya
8020 S. Drexel
Chicago, IL

Ms. Mary Wilkerson
6445 S. Sangamon
Chicago, IL 60621

Ms. Cora B. Williams
3013 W. Warren Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60612

Marvin Wright
733 N. 40th St.
East St. Louis, IL 62205

Indiana

James C. Cummings Jr.
303 Blue Ridge Rd.
Indianapolis, IN 46208

Thomas Parker
5234 N. Illinois
Indianapolis, IN 46208

Julius F. Shaw
State House, Room 229
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Edward N. Smith
4704 Barrington Dr.
Fort Wayne, IN 46806

Iowa

Delegates	Alternates
None	James B. Morris 1121 Americana Ct. Des Moines, IA 50314

Kansas

Ms. Maxine Dawson 414 Emmett Topeka, KS 66616	Chester Hawkins 932 Piatt Wichita, KS 67208 Leroy Tombs 411 Naconi Bonner Springs, KS 66012 Ms. Louise Wilfong 1318 No. 5th Kansas City, KS 66101

Louisiana

Benjamin H. Harbor 13936 Brantley Dr. Baker, LA 70714	Herbert H. Eddington 7411 Bullard Ave. New Orleans, LA 70128

Maryland

Aris T. Allen 62 Cathedral Annapolis, MD 21401 George Holley 2104 Bryant Ave. Baltimore, MD 21217 Archie Jones 1607 No. Dukeland St. Baltimore, MD 21216	Marshall W. Jones Sr. 1903 Barclay Baltimore, MD 21218 Tom Mickle 3114 Presstman St. Baltimore, MD 21216

Massachusetts

Edward W. Brooke 421 Russell Senate Office Building Washington, DC 20510	None

Michigan

Delegates	Alternates
Ms. Laverne Arnold 3607 Lawton Detroit, MI 48208	Ms. Ivy Banks 7220 Ponchartrain Detroit, MI 48203
William V. Banks 7220 Ponchartrain Detroit, MI 48203	Callie Dukes 18060 Fairway Dr. Detroit, MI 48221
Ms. Nancy Boykin 330 Trowbridge Detroit, MI 48202	Henry Hatter 14435 Montle Rd. Clio, MI 48420
Ulysses Boykin 330 Trowbridge Detroit, MI 48202	Ms. Mary Huggins 8355 Gratiot Detroit, MI 48213
Ms. Marjorie King 1035 Joseph Campau Detroit, MI 48207	Ms. LaRue Stone 15726 Coyle Detroit, MI 48227
Ms. Dovey T. Pickett 628 E. Kirby Detroit, MI 48202	Leonard Tyner 3641 Charlevoix Detroit, MI 48207
Ms. Martha Williams 4000 Bewick Detroit, MI 48214	Samuel L. West 18890 Keystone Detroit, MI 48234

Minnesota

Ms. Effie McKerson 5729 France Ave., South Minneapolis, MN 55410	None

Mississippi

Ms. Gloria Beal P.O. Box 173 Mound Bayou, MS 38762	John L. Baker P.O. Box 95 Brandon, MS 39042
William K. Dease 4237 Overbrook Dr. Jackson, MS 39213	Ms. Jean J. Long P.O. Box 277 Gulfport, MS 39501

Missouri

William L. Poston 4462 Lee Ave. St. Louis, MO 63115	Ms. Bernice Elrod 1722 Belle Glade St. Louis, MO 63113

Nevada

Delegates	Alternates
None	Ms. Florida McDonald 495 Radwick Las Vegas, NV 89110

New Jersey

William L. Stubbs 272 S. 8th St. Newark, NJ 07103	Ms. Marion E. Jackson 102 S. 12th St. Newark, NJ 07107
	Robert W. Lee 9 Pandick Ct. Fanwood, NJ 07023
	Aubrey Lewis 44 Pleasant Ave. Montclair, NJ 07042
	John R. Taliaferro 37 Longfellow Ave. Newark, NJ 07106

New York

Garfield Bobo 385 Decatur St. Brooklyn, NY 11233	Hugh Bradley 1245 Dean St. Brooklyn, NY 11216
Leonard Glenn 805 East 156th St. Bronx, NY 10455	Ms. Cynthia Cain 192-10 104th Ave. Hollis, NY 11412
Ms. Betty Granger 39 Barnard Road New Rochelle, NY 10802	Charles S. Hill 35 West 110th St. New York, NY 10026
Kendrick Harper 158-09 76th Rd. Flushing, NY 11366	Ms. Donella C. Jackson 689 Macon St. Brooklyn, NY 11233
Ms. Geraldine Jones 192-10 104th Ave. Hollis, NY 11412	Cleveland Johnson 52 Miller Ave. Central Islip, NY 11722
David S. Lewis 31 Comstock Ave. Buffalo, NY 14215	Ms. Cleo G. Reid 615 South Division Buffalo, NY 14210
Owen F. Peagler 29 Shaw Place Hartsdale, NY 10530	Kenneth Sherwood 2286 7th Ave. New York, NY 10030

New York, continued

Delegates	Alternates
Martin O. C. Richards 2350 7th Ave. New York, NY 10030	Ms. Peggy W. Wood 306 Albert Rd. Syracuse, NY 13214
Ms. Gloria E. A. Toote 282 West 137th St. New York, NY 10030	
Charles A. Vincent 55 West 125th St. New York, NY 10027	
Ms. Sinita Walker 1025 Ontario Rd., Lakeview West Hempstead Post Office New York, NY 11552	

North Carolina

None	Thomas Hooper III 1854 Stanberry Dr. Fayetteville, NC 28301

Ohio

William H. Alexander 3025 S. Moreland Cleveland, OH 44120	Ms. Margaret J. Black 2276 East 86th St. Cleveland, OH 44106
Virgil E. Brown 1101 Parkside Cleveland, OH 44108	Ms. Louise Booker 1059 Woodland Ave. Toledo, OH 43607
Ms. Helen W. Evans St. Rt. 245, Box 19221 Marysville, OH 43430	Ms. Loretta E. Clark 1918 Gault Columbus, OH 43205
Ms. Olympia A. Hall 12535 Vashti Ave. Cleveland, OH 44108	Ms. Wilma Lipkins 2136 East Tuscarawas St. Canton, OH 44707
Ronald C. Morgan 1221 Avon Dr. Cincinnati, OH 45209	Ms. Minnie F. Oddo 3386 East 116th St. Cleveland, OH 44120
	Ms. Helen L. Steele 1128 Wood St., S.W. Warren, OH 44485

Oklahoma

Delegates

Ms. Lennie Tolliver
6001 Wildewood Dr.
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

Alternates

Ms. Minifred Kibler
1828 N. Boston Place
Tulsa, OK 74106

Oregon

Ms. Berna Plummer
13710 N.E. Fremont Ct.
Portland, OR 97230

None

Pennsylvania

Ms. Ethel Allen
City Hall, Room 582B
Philadelphia, PA 19107

William H. Black
1527 S. 24th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146

William T. Coleman
Department of Transportation
400 7th St., S.W.
Washington, DC 20590

Roy E. Dixon
5216 W. Thompson St.
Philadelphia, PA 19131

Hobson R. Reynolds
1522 N. 16th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19121

Clarence Thompson
1610 W. Montgomery Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19121

Thomas J. Twine Sr.
626 Campbell St.
Williamsport, PA 17701

Harvey Bartle III
100 W. Moreland Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19118

Ms. LeGree Daniels
1715 Glenside Dr.
Harrisburg, PA 17109

Maurice Dawkins
Dept. of National Government
and Legislative Services
1625 I St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Wendell G. Freeland
409 Plaza Building
Pittsburgh, PA 15219

South Carolina

None

Willie A. Thompson
6 Dunlap Dr.
Greenville, SC 29605

Willie Williams Jr.
128 Meadow Lake Dr.
Columbia, SC 29203

Tennessee

Delegates	Alternates
Ms. Sarah Moore Green 2453 Linden Ave. Knoxville, TN 27917	Ms. Brucie Postell 810 Stonewall St. Memphis, TN 38107
Ms. Lela B.R. Miller 4205 Hydes Ferry Rd. Nashville, TN 37218	Ed Redditt 1593 S. Wellington Memphis, TN 38106
Thomas L. Moore TAM, Inc. 1312 McCalla Ave. Knoxville, TN 37915	Doran K. Small 1506 Birdson Memphis, TN 38106

Texas

None	Ms. Gwendolyn C. Morrison 2752 Lucas Pl. #2146 Fort Worth, TX 76119

Utah

None	Ms. Ruby J. Price 933 W. Gentile Layton, UT 84041

Virginia

Calvin Smith 1511 Carson Crescent East Portsmouth, VA 23701	Rayford Harris 2113 Fendale Ave. Richmond, VA 23222

Virgin Islands

Luther Benjamin Box 1514 St. Thomas, V.I. 00801	Ms. Joan Burgess P.O. Box 2512 Christiansted St. Croix, V.I. 00820
Melvin H. Evans P.O. Box E Christiansted St. Croix, V.I. 00820	Athniel C. Ottley c/o Bell, Stanton, Inc. 909 3rd Ave. New York, NY 10022

Wisconsin

Delegates

Henry Anderson
1900 N. 12th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53205

Alternates

Ms. Corrine Bryant
2321 N. 12th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53206

Paul Estroda
930 W. Keefe Ave.
Milwaukee, WI 53206

There are no black delegates or alternates from the following states and territories:

1. Alaska
2. Arizona
3. Colorado
4. Hawaii
5. Idaho
6. Kentucky
7. Maine
8. Montana
9. Nebraska
10. New Hampshire
11. New Mexico
12. North Dakota
13. Rhode Island
14. South Dakota
15. Vermont
16. Washington
17. West Virginia
18. Wyoming
19. Guam
20. Puerto Rico

III. THE BLACK VOTE

THE BLACK VOTE IN PERSPECTIVE

Black voters, not as fully mobilized as white voters prior to the 1960's, have become an increasingly important force in presidential elections.

Following the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, it is estimated that the number of registered blacks in the seven covered states doubled from 1.2 to 2.1 million. The continuing impact of the Act and the increasing politicization of blacks have helped tap the potential of an estimated 15,398,000 blacks of voting age.

In 1974, 58 percent of the total black population was concentrated in central cities with another 17 percent in metropolitan rings around the cities. Blacks constitute about 13 percent of the total population in metropolitan areas. These percentages mean that black voters are concentrated in the nation's urban centers, areas which successful presidential candidates usually carry.

In 1948, Truman's positive stand on civil rights, particularly the Fair Employment Practices Commission, is thought to have impressed blacks in states like California, Illinois and Ohio where he received overwhelming support from them. In this instance black support was particularly important to the success of the Truman candidacy because these three states have a combination of 96 electoral votes and because Truman carried them by only 17,000; 33,000; and 7,000 votes respectively. He won the presidency with a little less than 50 percent of the popular vote.

Although black support of Eisenhower increased from 21 percent in 1952 to 39 percent in 1956, the black vote was not as important in either year as it was in 1948, because of Eisenhower's widespread popularity. Eisenhower won the 1956 race with over 57 percent of the total popular vote.

The black vote for Kennedy, in 1960, exceeded the overall Democratic majority in four states: Mississippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Texas. Black support for Kennedy in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia ranged from 76 to 90 percent. Kennedy's narrow margin of victory included from 70 to 80 percent of the votes cast by blacks. He won the election with a little less than 50 percent of the popular vote.

Like the Eisenhower victories in the 50's, Johnson in 1964 relied less on the black vote (about 57 percent of those eligible) to provide a margin of victory

than did other presidents. However, it is estimated that 94 percent of all blacks participating in the election voted for Johnson who won the election with over 61 percent of the popular vote.

In 1968, the black turnout was about 87 percent of those registered. Humphrey is estimated to have received between 84 to 94 percent of the black vote although only about 58 percent of all eligible blacks voted. The narrow Nixon victory is believed to be partly attributable to the fact that many potential black voters did not participate. Nixon won the election with a low 43 percent of the popular vote.

Analysts point to political cynicism as one of the reasons for the lower national voter turnout rates in 1972 as compared to 1968. For this reason and because of the Nixon landslide, the black vote, which went primarily to McGovern (87 percent) was less important to the outcome of the 1972 election than it was in other years. However, it has been estimated that 58 percent of all Democrats voted for McGovern, 26 percent of those were black. Over 7 million blacks, 52 percent of those eligible, voted in the 1972 election which Nixon won with more than 60 percent of the popular vote.

The importance of the black vote in the 1976 presidential election is certainly no less than during other elections, including the 1974 congressional and gubernatorial elections, when even with a low 34 percent black voter turnout of those registered, blacks provided more votes for many winning candidates than the candidates' margins of victory (see The Black Vote in Selected Congressional and Gubernatorial Races, 1974). During the 1976 presidential primaries, black support helped Carter build his early delegate majorities. A survey of sample black wards and precincts in Boston, Florida and Chicago revealed that Boston blacks gave Carter 42 percent of their vote, in Florida Carter got about 70 percent of all black votes, and in Chicago Carter received 48 percent of black democratic votes.

On the Republican side in the race between President Ford and Ronald Reagan, Ford has had impressive black support. In Boston he garnered 62 percent; in Florida, 65 percent; and in Chicago, 78 percent of the black vote.

Blacks, who are the largest ethnic minority in America today, have the numbers particularly in the "big six" states, (New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio) to tip the scales in an election, especially if the race is close. These states alone provide 181 of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect a president.

In 1968, the pluralities earned by the winning party in 27 states and the

District of Columbia were less than the number of blacks of voting age in those states. In the 1972 Presidential Election, the winning margins in 10 states and in the District of Columbia are less than the present number of blacks of voting age in each of those 10 states. As the major networks and many political analysts have been saying during the 1976 primaries, "The black vote is a sleeping giant."

Even in the states where blacks do not constitute large percentages of the total vote, the black vote is an essential factor in a successful political effort. The following table compares black voting age population to presidential pluralities in states where pluralities have been less than the number of blacks of voting age. The 10 states and the District of Columbia which have a larger number of blacks of voting age in 1976 than the plurality of votes in the 1972 presidential election provide 152 of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect a president. All twenty-seven states have an electoral vote total of 398.

THE BLACK VOTE AND PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITIES

STATE	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES	1972 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1968 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY	1976 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1972 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY
AL	9	553,419	509,000-*		
AR	6	212,952	50,000-*		
CA	45	881,341	224,000-R		
CN	8	108,544	65,000-D		
DE	3	47,427	8,000-R	55,000	48,000-R
DC	1	371,592	109,000-D	348,000	93,000-D
FL	17	630,027	210,000-R		
GA	12	728,675	156,000-*		
IL	26	872,717	135,000-R	953,000	875,000-R
KY	9	150,626	64,000-R		
LA	10	652,392	220,000-*	668,000	389,000-R
MD	10	452,587	20,000-D	523,000	323,000-R
MI	21	623,322	222,000-D	709,000	503,000-R
MS	7	473,392	264,000-*	471,000	378,000-R
MO	12	299,345	21,000-R		
NV	3	16,046	12,000-R		
NJ	17	476,502	61,000-R		
NY	41	1,443,643	370,000-D	1,622,000	1,242,000-R
NC	13	701,401	131,000-R	722,000	616,000-R

STATE	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES	1972 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1968 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY	1976 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1972 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY
OH	25	617,225	90,000-R		
PA	27	680,803	169,000-D		
SC	8	471,603	39,000-R	504,000	290,000-R
TN	10	410,384	48,000-R		
TX	26	918,744	39,000-D		
VA	12	548,285	148,000-R	580,000	549,000-R
WA	9	45,300	27,000-D		
WI	11	72,290	61,000-R		

*The party winning the most votes was not either of the two major national political parties.

Concentrations of blacks in municipalities are also important to a consideration of the black vote. The largest cities command a large number of the total popular votes within states. The black vote often represents a large proportion of the total municipal vote.

Of the twenty largest cities, 11 have black voting age populations which are at least one fifth of the total voting age population. The twenty largest cities are shown with the potential black vote in the following table.

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN THE 20 LARGEST CITIES

TOTAL POPULATION RANK	CITY	TOTAL VOTING AGE POP	BLACK VOTING AGE POP	% BLACK VAP
1	New York	5,660,043	1,030,449	18.2
2	Chicago	2,285,559	632,766	27.7
3	Los Angeles	2,058,548	327,485	15.9
4	Philadelphia	1,341,343	397,959	29.7
5	Detroit	1,017,608	395,589	38.9
6	Houston	790,434	183,245	23.2
7	Baltimore	602,532	254,623	42.3
8	Dallas	556,531	119,081	21.4
9	Washington, D.C.	532,404	340,733	64.0
10	Cleveland	498,755	172,366	34.6
11	Indianapolis	505,355	73,321	14.5
12	Milwaukee	506,901	58,248	11.5
13	San Francisco	574,150	63,925	11.1
14	San Diego	508,181	32,224	6.3
15	San Antonio	430,885	33,433	7.8
16	Boston	478,743	62,992	13.2
17	Memphis	398,370	135,807	34.1
18	St. Louis	424,602	148,406	35.0
19	New Orleans	391,180	152,650	39.0
20	Phoenix	375,553	14,966	4.0

THE POTENTIAL BLACK VOTE

THE STATES

There are sixteen states where the potential black vote in 1976 is 500,000 or more. Nine are in the South and the other seven are divided among the three remaining regions. There is a total potential black vote of 12,273,000 in these sixteen states. An additional 10 states have between 100,000 and 500,000 blacks of voting age.

The 1976 Bureau of the Census projection of all blacks of voting age in the U.S. is 15,398,000.

In the following five states and the District of Columbia, blacks comprise more than one fifth of all potential voters: Alabama, 22 percent; District of Columbia, 67.7 percent; Georgia, 23.7 percent; Louisiana, 26.4 percent; Mississippi, 30.5 percent; and South Carolina, 26.1 percent. The potential black vote by state is shown in the following table.

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION BY STATE - 1976

STATE	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	PERCENT BLACK VAP
AL	2,501,000	550,000	22.0
AK	231,000	-	-
AZ	1,555,000	33,000	2.1
AR	1,503,000	217,000	14.4
CA	15,294,000	1,079,000	7.1
CO	1,773,000	54,000	3.1
CT	2,211,000	115,000	5.2
DE	403,000	55,000	13.7
DC	514,000	348,000	67.7
FL	6,326,000	671,000	10.6
GA	3,375,000	800,000	23.7
HI	600,000	-	-
ID	567,000	-	-
IL	7,718,000	953,000	12.4
IN	3,640,000	242,000	6.7
IO	2,010,000	26,000	1.3
KS	1,610,000	66,000	4.1
KY	2,374,000	160,000	6.7

STATE	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	PERCENT BLACK VAP
LA	2,532,000	668,000	26.4
ME	741,000	-	-
MD	2,863,000	523,000	18.3
MA	4,173,000	146,000	3.5
MI	6,268,000	709,000	11.3
MN	2,721,000	24,000	0.9
MS	1,544,000	471,000	30.5
MO	3,348,000	311,000	9.3
MT	518,000	-	-
NE	1,080,000	32,000	3.0
NV	424,000	24,000	5.7
NH	574,000	-	-
NJ	5,154,000	555,000	10.8
NM	771,000	14,000	1.8
NY	12,910,000	1,622,000	12.6
NC	3,847,000	722,000	18.8
ND	432,000	-	-
OH	7,459,000	664,000	8.9
OK	1,937,000	129,000	6.7
OR	1,653,000	18,000	1.1
PA	8,441,000	688,000	8.2
RI	648,000	18,000	2.8
SC	1,933,000	504,000	26.1
SD	469,000	-	-
TN	2,958,000	408,000	13.8
TX	8,503,000	985,000	11.6
UT	783,000	-	-
VT	327,000	-	-
VA	3,528,000	580,000	16.4
WA	2,536,000	47,000	1.9
WV	1,281,000	43,000	3.4
WI	3,211,000	85,000	2.7
WY	266,000	-	-

(-) - numbers are not shown where less than 100,000 blacks are living in the state.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Surveys have shown that many Americans cannot name their congressmen and that overall voter participation (and especially black voter participation) is declining. All Americans should be aware of the way their congressmen vote on issues and then cast their votes in enlightened self-interest. This is particularly true in the case of black Americans who represent less than one percent of the Nation's elected office holders, but about 11 percent of the total U.S. population.

A recent study by the Joint Center for Political Studies has shown:

> In 80 congressional districts, blacks represent at least 20 percent of the total population. In 61 of the 80 districts, the black voting age population constitutes more than 20 percent of the total voting age population. (Table II in appendix)
>
> Based on 1974 election results, in 48 selected congressional races, the number of blacks of voting age is greater than the earned margins of victory. Of the 48 districts in this category, only 9 have black populations which are 20 percent or more of the total.

Given these two sets of congressional districts, there are 120 in which the potential for black voter influence is great.

According to the Bureau of Census, the American electorate in November 1974 was the largest of any previous election -- 141 million persons in the civilian noninstitutional population were eligible to vote on the basis of age. However, only 45 percent of these persons reported that they actually cast a ballot in the November 5th Congressional election. The voter turnout rate for blacks - 34 percent - was lower than for whites.

Registration rates for blacks have been lower than for whites in each election since 1966. The lowest registration and voter turnout in 1974 occurred among young persons, only 21 percent of 18 to 20 year olds reported that they had voted.

Of the 80 congressional districts in which blacks represent at least 20 percent of the total population, 51 are in the South, 13 in North Central States, 12 in the Northeast, and 4 in the West. The District of Columbia is not included because it is allowed a non-voting delegate to Congress, not a voting representative.

Only one black member of the House of Representatives, Ronald V. Dellums, represents a district where blacks comprise less than 20 percent of the total voting age population. In Dellums district, California's 8th, the black voting age population is 18 percent of the total. In the other congressional districts represented by blacks, blacks of voting age range from a low of 37 percent to a high of 86 percent of the total voting age population (excluding the District of Columbia).

In the 49 congressional races where the number of blacks of voting age within the district is greater than the winning margin of votes, all races were won by less than 22,000 votes and 29 races were won by margins of less than 10,000 votes. Although in only 9 of these 48 districts do blacks comprise at least 20 percent of the population, the winning margins are so low that high black voter turnout can be a signigicant factor in determining the winner.

Congressional And Gubernatorial Races, 1974

December 11, 1975

In the appendix (Table III) are the results of a survey of black voting in selected Congressional and Gubernatorial races during 1974. Black sample precincts (that is, precincts where blacks comprise at least 80, but in most cases over 90 percent of the total precinct population) were studied to determine how blacks voted. The number of sample precincts in the study was limited by the number of solidly black sample precincts as well as by the Joint Center's ability to identify them. Sample black precincts were identified within congressional districts using census tract data (the Metropolitan Map Series), and by checking with knowledgeable local people.

The figures which follow are most useful if they are examined with an eye to individual races, to determine how blacks voted. Some generalizations are possible, however.

Black voters often make the difference between defeat and victory for a candidate, whether black or white. Usually, that difference is dependent upon the percentage of black voters in the political unit and the degree of their active participation (that is, turnout and support[1]) at the polls during an election. Where one of these is deficient, no matter what the predominant black voting pattern is, it is likely to have far less impact.

For example, in the race for representative to the U. S. House from Tennessee's 8th congressional district (which is 48% black), Ford (D) and Kuykendall (R) each received roughly half of the total votes cast; however, in the sample precincts studied, 54% of blacks registered to vote, cast 94% of their votes for Ford and only 6% for Kuykendall, thus upsetting the incumbent's chance for victory and replacing him with a black legislator. Had the turnout been less or the support for Ford weaker, the results in so close a race would no doubt have been different. Similarly, the South Carolina 6th congressional district (42% black) race for representative to the U. S. House was won by John Jenrette (D) who received 97% of the votes cast in the 12 sample precincts. This was crucial in helping him win his victory over Edward Young (R) by only 3,661 votes. Of his total votes, 47% were provided by blacks in this 1974 race.

On the other hand, both Ohio's House and gubernatorial election results from the 1st congressional district (which is 20% black) provide examples of a relatively high turnout rate (52%), but less solid support for the favored candidate. This resulted in a very close margin of victory for the winners of the race. Luken (D), was favored by blacks as a representative from the 1st congressional district, and succeeded in getting 89% of the votes cast in the sample precincts; however, this was not enough to prevent his defeat by Republican Gradison, whose final winning percentage was 51% to Luken's 49% of the total votes cast. Likewise, Gilligan (D) was the favored candidate for governor in the sample precincts, and acquired 86% of the votes cast there. It too, however, was too little to overcome Republican Rhodes' very slight edge in an election where each candidate polled roughly 50% of the total vote.

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1. Where winning percentages do not add up to 100% in the tables, minor candidates ran who acquired few, if any, black votes.

Black voters are showing more sophistication in their use of the ballot by adding their votes to those of white candidates who articulate black perspectives. In addition, the black vote is not as predictable as it once was. Although blacks voted for Democrats as opposed to Republicans approximately nine times to one, there are some notable exceptions, such as:

1. Twelve solidly black precincts in Baltimore gave Republican Senator Charles Mathias 52 percent of their vote in his race against Democratic challenger Barbara Mikulski.

2. Voters in four solidly black assembly districts in Harlem gave Republican Senator Jacob Javits 26 percent of their vote in his race against Ramsey Clark.

Black voter turnout was low during these off-year 1974 elections and fewer persons actually voted in congressional races than in senate and gubernatorial races (see races in Florida, Congressional District 10).[2] The range of black voter turnout rates (where turnout rates were available) is from a high of 63 percent to a low of 12 percent of registered voters.

Despite their minority, black voters do make a difference in elections. In a number of cases, black voters provided more votes for the winning candidate than that candidate's margin of victory. This is true in congressional districts where the percentage black is relatively small as well as in congressional districts where there are large numbers of blacks.

Certain facts should be borne in mind regarding the procedures used and assumptions made in this study:

1. Black voting patterns in the sample precincts are assumed to be representative of black voting throughout the political unit. Although it is possible that black voting patterns outside of sample precincts differ from black voting within sample precincts, these are reasonable estimates. It may be assumed that the black vote in the sample precinct does fairly reflect the pattern of black voting throughout the political unit (Congressional District).[3]

2. The accuracy of these estimates depends on the total number of votes in the sample precinct (where this data is available). Where there is a relatively small number of votes in a sample precinct (for example, in the race for the House in Alabama's district 2, total votes were 135), the estimate might be less accurate than in a sample precinct where there is a relatively large number of votes (for example, in the race for the House in Alabama district 6, total votes were 10,370).

3. In Senate and Gubernatorial races, figures are shown for sample precincts by congressional district rather than for the state as a whole. This was done because the number of sample precinct voters in a given district, compared to the total number of voters in all the sample precincts in the states, may not be proportionate to the percentage of blacks in a given congressional district as compared to the black population in the state.

---

2. Where there are no turnout ratios in the table, registration data was unavailable.

3. The average number of people in each congressional district is 465,468.

THE CITIES

The 1970 Census identified 385 cities with total populations of 50,000 or more. In 89 of these medium to large cities, blacks represent at least twenty percent of the total population. The list of 89 cities is found in Table I in the appendix. They have a combined black voting age population of 6,226,885 or 40.4 percent of the total U.S. voting age population.

Twelve of the municipalities in this group have black mayors. They are:

Berkeley, CA	Gary, IN
Compton, CA	Detroit, MI
Washington, D.C.	Pontiac, MI
Tallahassee, FL	East Orange, NJ
Atlanta, GA	Newark, NJ
East St. Louis, IL	Dayton, OH

Although all 89 cities have black populations which are at least one fifth of the total, 51 of them have black voting age populations which are one fourth of the voting age population. In ten of the 89 cities, blacks of voting age represent at least 40 percent of the voting age population. In Compton, California, the District of Columbia, and East St. Louis, Illinois, the majority of the voting age population is black.

THE BLACK YOUTH VOTE

The Voting Rights Act Amendment of 1970 lowered the voting age in national elections to age 18. It took effect January 1, 1972. The Bureau of the Census estimated that 11 million new age-eligible voters would be eligible to vote for the first time in November 1972. It was also estimated that a total of 25 million young people, age 24 and younger, who comprise 18 percent of the national voting age population would be eligible to vote in 1972.

Following the 1972 Presidential Election, the Bureau of Census estimated that only 6,896,000 or 50.7 percent of young people between the ages of 18 and 24 years old actually voted. Participation by young Americans, during the 1974 Congressional races was even lower; 3,718,000 or 26.5 percent of the 18 to 24 year olds voted. The primary reason that many young people gave for not voting was that they were not registered.

In a special report, Census characterized new voters as:

- primarily white (only 12 percent are black);
- women, 50.5 percent (6.2 percent of all those 18 to 24 are black women);
- single;
- high school graduates, 53 percent;
- living in metropolitan areas, two-thirds.

Young black Americans, 18 to 24 years, whose voter participation rates have been declining since 1964, numbered 2,994,000 in 1972. Only 34.7 percent of them voted in the 1972 Presidential Election. Of the total, only 47.7 percent were registered in time for the 1972 election.

Potential black voters between the ages of 18 and 24 years represent about 12 percent of the total potential youth vote and 22 percent of the potential black vote. Voter participation among young blacks during the 1972 election was lower than that of any other black age group. In addition, the registration rates among young black voters are lower than those for any other age group.

In 1974, the Census Bureau reported that of the 34 percent of young blacks who voted in the Congressional elections, most live in the North and West of the United States. The voter participation rate among young blacks, for the North and West, was 38 percent of those age-eligible but only 30 percent of those age-eligible in the South voted.

The relationship of young blacks to the total black population is important not only because young blacks are less likely to vote than other age groups but also because the black population tends to be younger than the white population. For example, whereas 9 percent of the white male population is 65 years or older, 6 percent of black males are 65 or older; 14 percent of white males are between 25 and 34, but only 12 percent of black males fall in this age group. The median age for black males is 21.9 years; for white males, 28.5 years; for black females, 24.2 years; and for white females, 31.1 years.

There are 10 states in addition to the District of Columbia, where young blacks comprise at least one fifth of the total voting age population. The table on the following page shows the potential black youth vote by state.

THE POTENTIAL BLACK VOTE AMONG BLACK YOUTH (18 to 24 YEARS OLD)

STATE	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION 18-24 YEARS OLD	% OF TOTAL BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION
Alabama	102,000	18.6
Alaska	2,000	**
Arizona	7,000	21.2
Arkansas	37,000	17.1
California	175,000	16.2
Colorado	10,000	18.5
Connecticut	22,000	19.1
Delaware	9,000	16.4
District of Columbia	72,000	20.7
Florida	119,000	17.7
Georgia	148,000	18.5
Hawaii	2,000	**
Idaho	*	**
Illinois	163,000	17.1
Indiana	42,000	17.4
Iowa	5,000	19.2
Kansas	15,000	22.7
Kentucky	29,000	18.1
Louisiana	130,000	19.5
Maine	1,000	**
Maryland	84,000	16.1
Massachusetts	24,000	16.4
Michigan	125,000	17.6
Minnesota	5,000	20.8
Mississippi	91,000	19.3
Missouri	55,000	17.7
Montana	1,000	**
Nebraska	5,000	15.6
Nevada	3,000	12.5
New Hampshire	*	**
New Jersey	89,000	16.0
New Mexico	3,000	21.4
New York	249,000	15.4
North Carolina	149,000	20.6
North Dakota	1,000	**
Ohio	113,000	17.0
Oklahoma	21,000	16.3
Oregon	4,000	22.2
Pennsylvania	144,000	20.9
Rhode Island	4,000	22.2

THE POTENTIAL BLACK VOTE AMONG BLACK YOUTH (18 to 24 YEARS OLD)

STATE	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION 18-24 YEARS OLD	% OF TOTAL BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION
South Carolina	101,000	20.0
South Dakota	*	**
Tennessee	74,000	18.1
Texas	172,000	17.5
Utah	1,000	**
Vermont	*	**
Virginia	105,000	18.1
Washington	11,000	23.4
West Virginia	7,000	16.3
Wisconsin	17,000	20.0
Wyoming	*	**

* Less than 500.

** Not shown where less than 10,000 blacks are living in the state.

BLACK VOTER POTENTIAL

A Commentary

The analyses and data presented in this section of the Guide demonstrate the potential influence and power of Blacks in the political processes of this country. The issue is whether the black vote will remain "a sleeping giant" or whether Blacks will assert themselves in time to take their place among all those other minorities who, over the years, have achieved many of their objectives through the use of the ballot box.

1976 is a crucial year for black Americans. The country has survived the Watergate scandal and the resignation of a President. It has ended its involvement in the war in Vietnam and is coming out of the worst economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930's. During these years, Blacks have, on the one hand, made important gains - in politics, in education, in civil rights - but on the other hand they are still being ignored by the centers of power, they are still the frequent victims of discrimination, racism and poverty.

But a potential remedy is within reach. It is called political improvement. The first and most basic step to political empowerment is to demonstrate commitment and by registering to vote.

During the next few months, Blacks will hear a lot about the importance of voter registration. A National Coalition on Black Voter Participation has been organized to mobilize and support local efforts and programs. The Coalition, which includes among its members civil rights organizations, trade unions, religious organizations and social groups, has chosen as its theme for 1976: "Operation Big Vote."

Nothing less than massive black voter registration and turnout will enable Blacks to fulfill the potential their numbers warrant.

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2. The 1976 population projections and the voter registration and participation figures are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports: Population Estimates and Projections, Series P-20 and Special Studies, Series P-23 No. 54, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population.

3. The figures for black voter preferences in cities during the 1968 Presidential elections and during the 1976 primary elections are from research done at the Joint Center for Political Studies.

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IV. JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

The Joint Center for Political Studies was established in 1970 to "advance the rights of political participation by Blacks and other minority groups and to assist members of such groups, elected or appointed to public office, to fulfill their offices effectively." These objectives are pursued through interlocking programs in research, public policy analysis, information, training and technical assistance.

A non-profit, non-partisan, private organization, the Joint Center for Political Studies is supported by the Ford Foundation, other foundations, corporations, labor unions and other groups.

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In addition to the publications listed above, the Joint Center for Political Studies regularly publishes two other items which are of special value to those interested in black political participation:

NATIONAL ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS
by Office of Research, JCPS. To be published in August 1976, $15.00

A unique reference source on the expansion of black political strength in America. This is the only volume in the nation listing all Blacks holding elected office in the United States. It shows name, address, title, and expiration date for each black elected official in office. It also contains:

- details on black women in office;
- capsule descriptions of each state's electoral system;
- analysis of the growth in numbers of black mayors;
- an alphabetical index.

FOCUS
by Office of Public Affairs, JCPS. Monthly, $12.00 per annum

A monthly newsletter which regularly reports on developments related to black and other minority politics and carries articles on major policy issues. FOCUS, which until now has been sent free of charge to more than 13,000 individuals, is being converted to a subscription basis.

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APPENDIX

I. Black Voting Age Population in Cities Over 50,000 with 20% or More Black Population

II. Congressional Districts with 20 Percent or More Black Population

III. The Black Vote in Selected Congressional and Gubernatorial Races, 1974

IV. Black Elected Officials in the United States-1976

V. Tally Sheet: Republican Presidential Nomination-1976

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

Table I

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
AL.						
Birmingham	300,910	126,388	42.0	203,095	76,642	37.7
Gadsden	53,928	11,088	20.6	36,344	6,508	17.9
Mobile	190,026	67,356	35.5	119,501	37,220	31.1
Montgomery	133,386	44,523	33.4	86,088	26,043	30.3
Tuscaloosa	65,773	17,345	26.4	48,192	10,496	21.8
AR.						
Little Rock	132,483	33,074	25.0	89,989	19,421	21.5
Pine Bluff	57,389	23,484	41.0	37,122	14,176	38.1
CA.						
Berkeley	116,716	27,421	23.5	93,022	18,415	19.8
Compton	78,611	55,781	71.0	42,517	27,633	65.0
Oakland	361,561	124,710	34.5	262,638	75,214	28.6
Richmond	79,043	28,633	36.2	51,973	15,996	30.8
CT.						
Hartford	158,017	44,091	27.9	109,631	24,620	22.4
New Haven	137,707	36,158	26.3	98,511	19,341	19.6

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
DE.						
Wilmington	80,386	35,072	43.6	54,399	19,525	35.9
DC.						
Washington	756,510	537,712	71.1	532,404	340,733	64.0
FL.						
Jacksonville	528,865	118,158	22.3	343,029	69,085	20.1
Miami	334,859	76,156	22.7	250,296	45,825	18.3
Orlando	99,006	29,177	29.5	69,041	16,423	23.8
Pensacola	59,507	19,709	33.1	38,885	11,306	29.1
Tallahassee	71,897	18,234	25.4	51,302	11,741	22.9
West Palm Beach	57,375	14,020	24.5	42,754	8,755	20.5
GA.						
Albany	72,623	27,517	37.9	44,219	15,203	34.4
Atlanta	496,973	255,051	51.3	337,438	154,788	45.9
Augusta	59,864	29,861	49.9	40,853	18,181	44.5
Columbus	154,168	40,422	26.2	98,328	23,881	24.2
Macon	122,423	45,715	37.3	79,503	26,627	33.4
Savannah	118,349	53,111	44.9	77,752	31,153	40.1

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
IL.						
Chicago	3,366,957	1,102,620	32.8	2,285,559	632,766	27.7
East St. Louis	69,996	48,368	69.1	41,848	26,232	62.7
IN.						
Gary	175,415	92,695	52.8	107,425	51,828	48.2
KS.						
Kansas City	168,213	34,345	20.4	109,025	20,123	18.4
KY.						
Louisville	361,472	86,040	23.8	246,192	51,286	20.8
LA.						
Baton Rouge	165,963	46,198	27.8	111,221	27,449	24.6
Lafayette	68,908	17,162	24.9	43,233	9,351	21.6
Lake Charles	77,998	24,262	31.1	47,991	13,270	27.7
Monroe	56,374	21,540	38.2	36,406	11,893	32.7
New Orleans	593,471	267,308	45.2	391,180	152,650	39.0
Shreveport	182,064	62,152	34.1	117,922	35,990	30.5

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
MD.						
Baltimore	905,759	420,210	46.4	602,532	254,623	40.8
MI.						
Detroit	1,511,482	660,428	43.7	1,017,608	395,589	38.9
Flint	193,317	54,237	28.1	121,525	29,296	24.1
Pontiac	85,279	22,760	26.6	53,472	12,356	23.1
Saginaw	91,849	22,288	24.3	57,216	11,560	20.2
MS.						
Jackson	153,968	61,063	39.7	99,136	34,492	34.8
MO.						
Kansas City	507,087	112,005	22.1	340,917	64,860	19.0
St. Louis	622,236	254,191	40.9	424,602	148,406	35.0
NJ.						
Camden	102,551	40,132	39.1	66,025	22,063	33.4
East Orange	75,471	40,099	53.1	55,898	25,915	46.3
Jersey City	260,545	54,595	21.0	179,600	30,564	17.0
Newark	382,417	207,458	54.3	240,033	115,127	48.0
Paterson	144,824	38,919	26.9	96,446	20,441	21.2
Trenton	104,638	39,671	37.9	71,722	22,375	31.2

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
NY.						
Buffalo	462,768	94,329	20.4	320,463	53,272	16.6
Mount Vernon	72,778	25,883	35.6	52,293	16,746	32.0
New York City	7,894,862	1,668,115	21.1	5,660,043	1,030,449	18.2
NC.						
Charlotte	241,178	72,972	30.3	157,100	42,123	26.8
Durham	95,438	37,018	38.8	67,618	23,914	35.4
Fayetteville	53,510	20,463	38.2	34,252	11,902	34.7
Greensboro	144,076	40,633	28.2	96,783	25,586	26.4
High Point	63,204	13,690	21.7	41,823	7,669	18.3
Raleigh	121,577	27,594	22.7	85,857	18,073	21.1
Winston Salem	132,913	45,533	34.3	88,995	27,741	31.2
OH.						
Cincinnati	452,524	125,070	27.6	312,055	74,803	24.0
Cleveland	750,903	287,841	38.3	498,755	172,366	34.6
Dayton	243,601	74,284	30.5	166,849	44,562	26.7
Youngstown	139,788	35,285	25.2	95,639	21,062	22.0

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
PA.						
Chester	56,331	25,469	45.2	37,186	14,774	39.7
Harrisburg	68,061	20,911	30.7	47,711	11,814	24.8
Philadelphia	1,948,609	653,791	33.6	1,341,343	397,959	29.7
Pittsburg	520,117	104,904	20.2	372,191	65,236	17.5
SC.						
Charleston	66,945	30,251	45.2	44,127	16,946	38.4
Columbia	113,542	33,998	29.9	86,225	22,165	25.7
Greenville	61,208	19,145	31.3	41,811	11,295	27.0
TN.						
Chattanooga	119,082	42,610	35,8	81,218	25,734	31.7
Memphis	623,530	242,513	38.9	398,370	135,807	34.1
TX.						
Beaumont	115,919	35,553	30.7	76,177	20,730	27.2
Dallas	844,401	210,238	24.9	556,531	119,081	21.4
Galveston	61,809	18,143	29.4	42,032	10,932	26.0
Houston	1,232,802	316,551	25.7	790,434	183,245	23.2
Port Arthur	57,371	22,994	40.1	37,636	13,033	34.6

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
TX. (cont)						
Tyler	57,770	12,320	21.3	38,808	7,455	19.2
Waco	95,326	18,955	20.0	66,850	11,454	17.1
VA.						
Chesapeake	89,580	20,669	23.1	54,975	11,587	21.0
Hampton	120,779	30,619	25.4	75,989	18,736	24.7
Lynchburg	54,083	12,583	23.2	37,809	7,852	20.8
Newport News	138,177	39,196	28.4	89,869	23,115	25.7
Norfolk	307,951	87,261	28.3	213,887	52,311	24.5
Portsmouth	110,963	44,320	39.9	71,374	25,115	35.2
Richmond	249,621	104,766	42.0	173,462	64,776	37.3

II. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS WITH 20 PERCENT OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department -- December 1975

TABLE II

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
Alabama	903,000	26.2%	7	1	160,741	32.7	302,373	86,705	29	Jack Edwards	Mobile
				2	146,345	29.8	316,740	81,877	26	William L. Dickinson	Montgomery
				3	154,268	31.3	317,093	84,831	27	William Nichols	Anniston
				6	147,849	30.0	326,861	88,635	27	John H. Buchanan, Jr	Birmingham
				7	186,493	37.9	311,969	102,583	33	Walter Flowers	Tuscaloosa
Arkansas	352,539	18.3%	4	1	110,722	23.1	303,439	57,446	19	William V. Alexander	Jonesboro
				4	150,734	31.3	313,564	85,041	27	R. H. Thornton	Pine Bluff
California	1,399,430	7.0%	43	8	96,595	20.9	347,089	62,819	18	Ronald V. Dellums *	Oakland
				28	185,808	39.9	330,374	121,831	37	Yvonne B. Burke *	Los Angeles
				29	274,524	59.1	290,498	156,091	54	Augustus F. Hawkins *	Los Angeles
				31	128,940	27.8	290,480	67,369	23	Charles H. Wilson	Compton
Florida	1,041,971	15.3%	15	2	126,720	28.0	297,700	71,824	24	Don Fuqua	Tallahasee
				3	117,682	26.0	291,939	68,372	23	Charles E. Bennett	Jacksonville
Georgia	1,184,062	25.8%	10	1	153,258	33.6	288,360	85,480	30	Ronald Bo Ginn	Savannah
				2	169,393	36.8	283,487	90,401	32	M. Dawson Mathis	Albany
				3	147,324	32.0	292,612	82,812	28	Jack T. Brinkley	Columbus
				5	203,650	44.2	313,414	124,410	40	Andrew Young*	Atlanta
				8	141,988	31.0	291,540	78,909	27	Williamson S. Stuckey	Macon
				10	151,216	32.8	299,272	84,677	28	Robert G. Stephens	Augusta
Illinois	1,422,870	12.8%	24	1	411,262	88.9	301,472	259,195	86	Ralph H. Metcalfe *	Chicago
				2	184,439	39.7	301,794	103,717	34	Morgan G. Murphy	Chicago
				5	145,026	31.1	304,866	81,700	27	John G. Fary	Chicago
				7	255,082	54.9	275,240	129,312	47	Cardiss Collins *	Chicago
Indiana	356,379	6.9%	11	1	112,026	23.7	292,093	62,333	21	Ray J.Madden	Gary
				11	105,810	22.4	303,733	61,150	20	Andrew Jacobs	Indianapolis
Kentucky	230,406	7.2%	7	3	91,755	19.9	306,898	54,167	18	Romano L. Mazzoli	Paducah

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department -- December 1975

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
Louisiana	1,086,029	29.8%	8	1	141,827	31.2	280,698	74,711	27	F. Edward Hebert	New Orleans
				2	180,451	39.7	296,023	105,766	36	Corinne C. Boggs	New Orleans
				4	141,827	31.2	294,034	81,482	28	Joe D. Waggonner	Shreveport
				5	157,095	34.5	284,312	84,709	30	Otto E. Passman	Monroe
				6	135,523	29.7	283,665	76,218	27	W. Henson Moore	Baton Rouge
				7	96,189	21.1	273,150	51,238	19	John N. Breaux	Lake Charles
				8	165,363	36.2	270,179	88,354	33	Gillis W. Long	Alexandria
Michigan	990,663	11.2%	19	1	327,389	70.1	309,222	199,110	64	John Conyers *	Detroit
				13	305,862	65.8	302,022	179,646	59	Charles C. Diggs *	Detroit
Mississippi	815,626	36.8%	5	1	153,979	35.5	267,603	78,067	29	Jamie L. Whitten	Clarksdale
				2	202,418	45.9	263,625	103,655	39	David R. Bowen	Greenville
				3	179,950	40.4	275,629	95,784	35	Gillespie V. Montgomery	Meridian
				4	191,701	43.1	274,966	104,365	38	Thad Cochran	Jackson
Missouri	479,838	10.3%	10	1	254,089	54.3	307,366	147,07[illegible]	48	William L. Clay *	St. Louis
				5	112,066	24.0	316,425	64,000	20	Richard Bolling	Kansas City
New Jersey	769,245	10.7	15	10	247,531	31.8	303,639	140,614	46	Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	New Brunswick
New York	2,165,072	11.9	39	7	170,750	36.5	335,013	104,727	31	Joseph P. Addabbo	New York City
				12	252,234	53.9	272,892	138,901	51	Shirley A. Chisholm *	New York City
				14	216,976	46.4	302,882	134,333	44	Frederick W. Richmond	New York City
				16	103,338	22.1	341,487	64,351	19	Elizabeth Holtzman	New York City
				19	274,143	58.7	329,757	190,028	58	Charles B. Rangel *	New York City
				21	196,834	42.1	270,162	112,568	42	Herman Badillo	New York City
				37	96,638	20.7	321,700	54,681	17	Henry J. Nowak	Buffalo

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department - December 1975

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
North Carolina	1,125,885	22.2	11	1	164,292	35.8	292,095	89,669	31	Walter B. Jones	Greenville
				2	183,626	40.1	292,016	100,072	34	L. H. Fountain	Rocky Mount
				3	122,284	26.7	295,516	68,607	23	David N. Henderson	Camp LeJeune Central
				4	108,228	23.2	312,185	66,130	21	Ike F. Andrews	Raleigh
				6	95,625	20.9	302,110	56,967	19	L. Richardson Preyer	Greensboro
				7	119,632	25.6	293,448	67,430	23	Charles Rose	Fayetteville
				8	90,829	20.0	298,954	51,388	17	W. G. Hefner	Kannapolis
				9	99,750	21.7	296,456	56,829	19	James G. Martin	Charlotte
Ohio	970,145	9.1%	23	1	92,516	20.0	309,380	56,813	18	Willis D. Gradison,Jr.	Cincinnati
				21	306,661	66.3	304,594	183,491	60	Louis Stokes*	Cleveland
Pennsylvania	1,016,551	8.6%	25	1	187,428	39.2	330,957	115,333	35	William A. Barrett	Philadelphia
				2	305,679	65.0	321,572	186,791	58	Robert N. C. Nix*	Philadelphia
				3	134,444	28.5	319,094	78,093	24	William J. Green	Philadelphia
				14	100,104	21.3	339,530	62,932	19	William S. Moorhead	Pittsburgh
South Carolina	788,455	30.4%	6	1	150,439	34.0	270,689	79,370	29	Mendel J. Davis	Charleston
				2	159,772	33.8	288,661	85,947	30	Floyd D. Spence	Columbia
				3	98,183	22.6	280,626	54,652	19	Butler C. Derrick	Anderson
				5	139,661	31.6	275,409	75,257	27	Kenneth L. Holland	Rock Hill
				6	173,313	42.2	243,094	88,252	36	John W. Jenrette	Florence
Tennessee	3,924,164	15.8%	8	8	234,469	47.5	329,034	135,930	41	Harold Ford*	Memphis
Texas	1,396,767	12.5	24	1	104,898	22.5	317,678	61,435	19	Wright Patman	Texarkana
				2	95,632	20.5	306,907	55,638	18	Charles Wilson	Lufkin
				5	91,825	19.7	297,053	55,825	19	Alan W. Steelman	Dallas
				9	102,612	22.0	297,954	59,144	20	Jack Brooks	Beaumont
				18	205,157	44.0	307,636	122,375	40	Barbara C. Jordan*	Houston
				24	122,602	26.3	289,997	64,266	22	Dale Milford	Dallas

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department -- December 1975

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
Virginia	860,302	18.5	10	1	140,490	30.1	302,235	82,094	27	Thomas N. Downing	New Port News
				2	100,295	21.6	309,989	60,290	19	G. William Whitehurst	Norfolk
				3	122,022	26.2	313,655	75,604	24	David E. Satterfield	Richmond
				4	172,765	37.1	295,660	99,035	34	Robert W. Daniel	Portsmouth
				5	133,994	29.0	298,768	75,136	25	Dan Daniel	Danville
Wisconsin	128,134	2.9	9	5	104,615	21.3	331,186	53,245	16	Henry S. Reuss	Milwaukee

III. THE BLACK VOTE IN SELECTED CONGRESSIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL RACES, 1974

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
ALABAMA	House of Representatives								
	1st Congressional District	33	3	Edwards (R)*	61	875	28	$\frac{3149}{10,374}$ = 30%	
				Wilson (D)	36	2,274	72		
	2nd Congressional District	30	2	Dickinson (R)*	65	79	59		
				Chisler (D)	35	56	41		
	3rd Congressional District	31	14	Nichols (D)*	96	1,667	95		
				Connell (P)	4	81	5		
	4th Congressional District	9	2	Bevill (D)*		308	100		
				Carpenter (P)		0	--		
	6th Congressional District	30	13	Buchanan (R)*	57	1,340	13		
				Miglionico (D)	42	8,630	83		
				Boone (NDPA)	1	141	1		
				Dillard (P)	--	259	2		
	U. S. Senate								
	1st Congressional District	33	3	Allen (D)*	95	1,850	93	$\frac{1983}{10,374}$ = 19%	
				Abercrombie (P)	5	133	7		
ALABAMA (Cont.)	U. S. Senate (Cont.)								
	2nd Congressional District	30	2	Allen (D)*	95	135	97		
				Abercrombie (P)	5	4	3		
	3rd Congressional District	31	14	Allen (D)*	95	1,347	77		
				Abercrombie (P)	5	398	23		
	4th Congressional District	9	2	Allen (D)*	95	296	95		
				Abercrombie (P)	5	17	5		
	Gubernatorial								
	1st Congressional District	33	3	Wallace (D)*	85	1,874	81	$\frac{2306}{10,374}$ = 22%	
				McCary (R)	15	432	19		
	2nd Congressional District	30	2	Wallace (D)*	85	193	89		
				McCary (R)	15	23	11		
	3rd Congressional District	31	14	Wallace (D)*	85	1,259	70		
				McCary (R)	15	528	30		
	4th Congressional District	9	2	Wallace (D)*	85	230	79		
				McCary (R)	15	60	21		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
ALABAMA (Cont.)	Gubernatorial (Cont.) 6th Congressional District	30	13	Wallace (D)*	85	6,616	76		
				McCary (R)	15	1,607	18		
CALIFORNIA	House of Representatives Los Angeles 28th Congressional District	40	4	Burke (D)*	82	618	95	$\frac{648}{1611}$ = 40%	
				Reddy (R)	18	30	5		
	29th Congressional District	59	6	Hawkins (D)*	100	781		$\frac{781}{2241}$ = 35%	
				Unopposed					
	U. S. Senate Los Angeles 28th Congressional District	40	4	Cranston (D)*	63	690	95	$\frac{730}{1611}$ = 45%	
				Richardson (R)	37	40	5		
	29th Congressional District	59	6	Cranston (D)*	63	1,141	98	$\frac{1168}{2241}$ = 52%	
				Richardson (R)	37	27	2		
CALIFORNIA (Cont.)	Gubernatorial Los Angeles 28th Congressional District	40	4	Brown (D)*	52	708	92	$\frac{766}{1611}$ = 48%	
				Flournoy (R)	48	58	8		
	29th Congressional District	59	6	Brown (D)*	52	1,231	98	$\frac{1262}{2241}$ = 56%	
				Flournoy (R)	48	31	2		
FLORIDA	House of Representatives 3rd Congressional District	26	25	Bennett (D)*	100				
				Unopposed					
	4th Congressional District	15	3	Chappell (D)*	68	435	91	$\frac{476}{2073}$ = 23%	
				Hauser (R)	32	41	9		
	5th Congressional District	16	5	Kelly (R)*	54	96	4	$\frac{2490}{7791}$ = 32%	
				Saunders (D)	46	2,394	96		
	7th Congressional District	13	5	Gibbons (D)*					
				Unopposed					

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FLORIDA (Cont.)	8th Congressional District	14	2	Haley (D)*	57	542	84	$\frac{646}{2721}$ = 24%	
				Lovingood (R)	43	104	16		
	9th Congressional District	8	1	Frey (R)*	77	167	38	$\frac{434}{1432}$ = 30%	
				Rowland (D)	23	267	62		
	10th Congressional District	14	5	Bafalis (R)*	72	222	24		
				Tucker (D)	28	697	76	$\frac{919}{4486}$ = 20%	
	11th Congressional District	18	9	Rogers (D)*	100				
				Unopposed					
	U. S. Senate 3rd Congressional District	26	25	Stone (D)*	44	7,404	83		
				Eckerd (R)	41	1,542	17		
	4th Congressional District	15	3	Stone (D)*	44	409	85	$\frac{481}{2073}$ = 23%	
				Eckerd (R)	41	72	15		
	5th Congressional District	16	5	Stone (D)*	44	2,550	88	$\frac{2923}{7791}$ = 38%	
				Eckerd (R)	41	373	9		
FLORIDA (Cont.)	7th Congressional District	13	5	Stone (D)*	44	1,694	74		
				Eckerd (R)	41	585	26		
	8th Congressional District	14	2	Stone (D)*	44	543	76	$\frac{713}{2721}$ = 26%	
				Eckerd (R)	41	170	24		
	9th Congressional District	8	1	Stone (D)*	44	362	81	$\frac{449}{1432}$ = 31%	
				Eckerd (R)	41	87	19		
	10th Congressional District	14	5	Stone (D)*	44	1,113	85	$\frac{1307}{4486}$ = 29%	
				Eckerd (R)	41	194	15		
	11th Congressional District	18	9	Stone (D)*	44	3,743	88		
				Eckerd (R)	41	517	12		
	Gubernatorial 3rd Congressional District	26	25	Askew (D)*	61	10,640	94		
				Thomas (R)	39	694	6		
	4th Congressional District	15	3	Askew (D)*	61	562	91	$\frac{618}{2073}$ = 30%	
				Thomas (R)	39	56	9		

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Florida (Cont.)	5th Congressional District	18	5	Askew (D)*	61	3,042	97	3129/7791 = 40%	
				Thomas (R)	39	87	3		
	7th Congressional District	13	5	Askew (D)*	61	2,569	94		
				Thomas (R)	39	164	6		
	8th Congressional District	14	2	Askew (D)*	61	813	92	882/2721 = 32%	
				Thomas (R)	39	69	8		
	9th Congressional District	4	1	Askew (D)*	61	442	87	508/1432 = 35%	
				Thomas (R)	39	66	13		
	10th Congressional District	21	5	Askew (D)*	61	1,390	93	1492/4486 = 33%	
				Thomas (R)	39	102	7		
	11th Congressional District	12	9	Askew (D)*	61	4,540	89		
				Thomas (R)	39	539	11		
Illinois	House of Representatives 17th Congressional District	9	7	Findley (R)*	52	714	38		
				Hopkins (D)	48	1,151	62		
	U. S. Senate 17th Congressional District	9	7	Stevenson (D)*	62	1,222	66		
				Percy (R)	38	622	34		
Alaska	House of Representatives 4th Congressional District	7	8	Griffin (R)*	54	641	34		
				Cheney (D)	46	1,032	55	1864/4221 = 44%	
				Stevens (A)	--	191	10		
	U. S. Senate 4th Congressional District	7	8	Dole (R)*	51	367	17		
				Gray (D)	49	1,748	83	2115/4221 = 50%	
	Gubernatorial 4th Congressional District	7	8	Bennett (R)*	50	666	34		
				Miller (D)	50	1,170	60	1955/4221 = 46%	
				Uncapher (P)	--	119	6		

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LOUISIANA	House of Representatives 3rd Congressional District	15	3	Treen (R)* Griffon (D)	59 41	103 558	16 84		
	5th Congressional District	35	4	Passman (D)* Unopposed	100	941	100	$\frac{941}{3639}$ = 26%	
	6th Congressional District	30	16	Moore (R)* LaCaze (D)	50 50	163 9,927	2 98	$\frac{10,090}{16,123}$ = 63%	
	7th Congressional District	21	2	Breaux (D)* Millett (I D)	89 11	303 10	97 3		
	8th Congressional District	36	5	Long (D)* Unopposed	100	498	100	$\frac{498}{4026}$ = 12%	
	U. S. Senate 3rd Congressional District	15	3	Long (D)* Unopposed	100	261	100		
LOUISIANA (Cont.)	5th Congressional District	35	4	Long (D)* Unopposed	100	995	100	$\frac{995}{3639}$ = 27%	
	7th Congressional District	21	2	Long (D)* Unopposed	100	232	100		
	8th Congressional District	36	5	Long (D)* Unopposed	100	547	100	$\frac{547}{4026}$ = 14%	
MARYLAND	U. S. Senate 7th Congressional District	74	12	Mathias (R)* Mikulski (D)	57 43		52 48		
MASSACHUSETTS	House of Representatives Boston 9th Congressional District	20		Moakley (D)* Sherman (USLP)	89 11				

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MASS. (Cont.)	Gubernatorial Boston 9th Congressional District	20	6	Dukakis (D)*	56	2,446	28	8648 / 20,110	43%
				Sargent (R)	44	6,202	72		
MICHIGAN	Gubernatorial Detroit		11	Milliken (R)*	52	16,083	12	132,433 / 342,785	39%
				Levin (D)	47	116,350	88		
MISSISSIPPI	House of Representatives 4th Congressional District	43	20	Cochran (R)*	70	495	8		
				Dean (D)	30	5,794	92		
MISSOURI	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	54	10	Clay (D)*	68	32,615	93	35,112 / 66,122	53%
				Curtis (R)	32	2,497	7		
	U. S. Senate 1st Congressional District	54	10	Eagleton (D)*	60	32,552	92	35,327 / 66,122	53%
				Curtis (R)	40	2,775	8		
NEW JERSEY	House of Representatives Newark 10th Congressional District	52	2	Rodino (D)*	84	11,803	89	13,286 / 41,314	32%
				Tallaferro (R)	16	1,483	11		
NEW YORK	U. S. Senate 19th Congressional District	59	4	Javits (R)*	45	16,879	26		
				Clark (D)	39	45,904	70		
				Keating (C)	16	3,085	4		
	Gubernatorial 19th Congressional District	59	4	Carey (D)*	59	45,038	81		
				Wilson (R)	41	10,595			
NORTH CAROLINA	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	36	2	Jones (D)*	78	338	93	362 / 1371	26%
				McMullan (R)	22	24	7		

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NORTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	2nd Congressional District	40	1	Fountain (D)*	100	484	100	$\frac{484}{2035}$	= 24%
				Unopposed					
	3rd Congressional District	27	1	Henderson (D)*	100	550	100	$\frac{550}{1882}$	= 29%
				Unopposed					
	4th Congressional District	23	4	Andrews (D)*	65	1,480	95	$\frac{1557}{4736}$	= 33%
				Purrington ( )	35	77	5		
	5th Congressional District	14	5	Neal (D)*	52	2,214	96		
				Ikell (R)	48	84	4		
	7th Congressional District	26	2	Rose (D)*	100	602	100		
				Unopposed					
	8th Congressional District	20	1	Hefner (D)*	57	522	87	$\frac{600}{1161}$	= 51%
				Watts (R)	43	78	13		
	9th Congressional District	22	10	Martin (R)*	56	500	16	$\frac{3077}{15,793}$	= 19%
				Short (D)	44	2,577	84		
NORTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	10th Congressional District	11	1	Broyhill (R)*	54	56	12		
				Rhyne (D)	46	402	88		
	U. S. Senate								
	1st Congressional District	36	2	Morgan (D)*	63	316	93	$\frac{340}{1371}$	= 25%
				Stevens (R)	37	24	7		
	2nd Congressional District	40	1	Morgan (D)*	63	559	94	$\frac{593}{2035}$	= 29%
				Stevens (R)	37	34	6		
	3rd Congressional District	27	1	Morgan (D)*	63	497	75	$\frac{664}{1882}$	= 35%
				Stevens (R)	37	167	25		
	4th Congressional District	23	4	Morgan (D)*	63	1,452	90	$\frac{1622}{4736}$	= 34%
				Stevens	37	170	10		
	5th Congressional District	14	5	Morgan (D)*	63	2,097	89		
				Stevens (R)	37	267	11		

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NORTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	7th Congressional District	26	2	Morgan (D)*	63	632	97		
				Stevens (R)	37	22	3		
	8th Congressional District	20	1	Morgan (D)*	63	532	89	$\frac{598}{1181}$ = 51%	
				Stevens (R)	37	66	11		
	9th Congressional District	22	10	Morgan (D)*	63	2,941	86	$\frac{3412}{15,793}$ = 22%	
				Stevens (R)	37	471	14		
	10th Congressional District	11	1	Morgan (D)*	63	425	92		
				Stevens (R)	37	39	8		
OHIO	House of Representatives Cincinnati 1st Congressional District	20	26	Gradison (R)*	51	641	11	$\frac{5961}{11,551}$ = 52%	
				Lukens (D)	49	5,320	89		
	Cleveland 21st Congressional District	66	11	Stokes (D)*	82	35,721	94	$\frac{38,066}{87,653}$ = 43%	
				Mack (R)	18	2,343	6		
OHIO (Cont.)	U. S. Senate Cincinnati 1st Congressional District	20	26	Glenn (D)*	68	4,765	92	$\frac{5205}{11,551}$ = 45%	
				Perk (R)	32	440	8		
	Cleveland 21st Congressional District	66	11	Glenn (D)*	68	30,065	85	$\frac{35,534}{87,653}$ = 41%	
				Perk (R)	32	5,469	15		
	Gubernatorial Cincinnati 1st Congressional District	20	26	Rhodes (R)*	50	529	14	$\frac{6008}{11,551}$ = 52%	
				Gilligan (D)	50	5,179	86		
	Cleveland 21st Congressional District	66	11	Rhodes (R)*	50	7,138	18	$\frac{40,118}{87,653}$ = 46%	
				Gilligan (D)	50	32,980	82		
OKLAHOMA	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	9	17	Jones (D)*	68	3,477	92	$\frac{3778}{9948}$ = 38%	
				Mizer (R)	32	301	8		

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OKLAHOMA (Cont.)	U. S. Senate 1st Congressional District	9	17	Bellmon (R)* Edmondson (D)	50 50	911 3,090	23 .77	4001/9948 = 40%	
	5th Congressional District	11	10	Bellmon (R)* Edmondson (D)	50 50	933 1,527	38 62		
	Gubernatorial 1st Congressional District	9	17	Boren (D)* Inhofe (R)	64 36	3,588 603	86 14	4191/9948 = 42%	
	5th Congressional District	11	10	Boren (D)* Inhofe (R)	64 36	2,183 390	85 15		
SOUTH CAROLINA	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	34	8	Davis (D)* Hast (R)	75 25	3,165 411	89 11	3576/7797 = 46%	
SOUTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	2nd Congressional District	34	5	Spence (R)* Perry (D)	57 43	115 5,110	2 98	5225/9989 = 52%	
	5th Congressional District	32	7	Holland (D)* Phillips (R)	62 38	1,527 120	93 7	1647/3742 = 44%	
	6th Congressional District	42	12	Jenrette (D)* Young (R)	52 48		97 3		
	U. S. Senate 1st Congressional District	34	8	Hollings (D)* Bush (R)	71 29	3,186 429	88 12	3615/7797 = 46%	
	2nd Congressional District	34	5	Hollings (D)* Bush (R)	71 29	4,746 96	98 2	4842/9989 = 48%	
	5th Congressional District	32	7	Hollings (D)* Bush (R)	71 29	1,552 100	94 6	1652/3742 = 44%	

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SOUTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	Gubernatorial								
	1st Congressional District	34	8	Edwards (R)*	52	1,207	32	$\frac{3758}{7797}$ = 48%	
				Dorn (D)	48	2,551	68		
	2nd Congressional District	34	5	Edwards (R)*	52	274	5	$\frac{5064}{9989}$ = 51%	
				Dorn (D)	48	4,790	95		
	5th Congressional District	32	7	Edwards (R)*	52	166	10	$\frac{1701}{3742}$ = 45%	
				Dorn (D)	48	1,535	90		
TENNESSEE	House of Representatives								
	Nashville 5th Congressional District	19	4	Fulton (D)*	100	2,951	100		
				Unopposed					
	8th Congressional District	43	7	Ford (D)*	50	6,561	94	$\frac{6993}{12,903}$ = 54%	
				Huykendall (R)	50	432	6		
TENNESSEE (Cont.)	Gubernatorial								
	Nashville, 5th Congressional District	19	4	Blanton (D)*	56	2,837	90		
				Alexander (R)	44	320	10		
	8th Congressional District	43	7	Blanton (D)*	56	5,829	90	$\frac{6482}{12,903}$ = 50%	
				Alexander (R)	44	653	10		
TEXAS	House of Representatives								
	Houston 8th Congressional District	19	2	Eckhardt (D)*	73	805	97	$\frac{833}{4881}$ = 17%	
				Whitefield (R)	27	28	3		
	18th Congressional District	44	6	Jordan (D)*	86	2,714	99	$\frac{2735}{12,131}$ = 23%	
				Mitchell (R)	14	21	1		
	22nd Congressional District	13	1	Casey (D)*	71	561	98	$\frac{571}{2861}$ = 20%	
				Paul (R)	29	10	2		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
TEXAS (Cont.)	Gubernatorial								
	5th Congressional District	19	2	Briscoe (D)*	63	872	95	$\frac{917}{4881}$ = 19%	
				Granberry (R)	32	45	5		
	18th Congressional District	44	6	Briscoe (D)*	63	2,452	97	$\frac{2518}{12,131}$ = 21%	
				Granberry (R)	32	66	3		
	22nd Congressional District	13	1	Briscoe (D)*	63	589	98	$\frac{604}{2861}$ = 21%	
				Granberry (R)	32	15	2		
VIRGINIA	House of Representatives								
	Norfolk 2nd Congressional District	22	12	Whitehurst (R)*	60	1,082	13	$\frac{8370}{23,009}$ = 36%	
				Richards (D)	40	7,288	87		
	Richmond 3rd Congressional District	26	16	Satterfield (D)*	90	2,602	66	$\frac{3965}{22,196}$ = 18%	
				Ogden (IND)	10	1,363	34		
VIRGINIA (Cont.)	4th Congressional District	37	11	Daniel (R)*	47	333	4		
				Schlitz (D)	36	4,783	54		
				Harris (IND)	17	3,748	42		

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data Book, 93rd Congress (Washington, D. C.: Data User Services Office, 1972).

* Indicates winner of race.

IV. BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES
As of June, 1976

STATE	TOTAL	Federal		State				Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
		SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES	ADMINISTRATORS	DIRECTORS, STATE AGENCIES	SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES	DIRECTORS, REGIONAL BODIES	MEMBERS, SUB-STATE REGIONAL BODIES	MEMBERS, COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES	MEMBERS, OTHER COUNTY BODIES	OTHER COUNTY OFFICIALS	MAYORS	MEMBERS, MUNICIPAL GOVERNING BODIES	MEMBERS, OTHER MUNICIPAL BODIES	OTHER MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS	MEMBERS, NEIGHBORHOOD ADVISORY COUNCILS	JUDGES, STATE COURTS OF LAST RESORT	JUDGES, OTHER COURTS	MAGISTRATES, JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, CONSTABLES	OTHER JUDICIAL OFFICIALS	POLICE CHIEFS, SHERIFFS, MARSHALS	OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS	MEMBERS, STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES	MEMBERS, COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY BOARDS	MEMBERS, LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS	OTHER EDUCATION OFFICIALS
Alabama	171	—	—	—	—	2	13	—	—	12	—	7	10	63	1	1	—	—	1	33	4	4	1	—	—	19	—
Alaska	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Arizona	19	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
Arkansas	209	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	35	—	—	9	73	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	74	—
California	159	—	3	1	1	2	6	4	11	—	—	1	6	38	—	3	—	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	13	48	—
Colorado	14	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Connecticut	46	—	—	1	—	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	2	1	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	9	—
Delaware	15	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
District of Columbia	205	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	11	—	—	184	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
Florida	90	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	3	—	—	9	59	2	1	—	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—
Georgia	204	—	1	—	—	2	20	—	—	12	—	1	3	110	2	—	—	—	4	4	1	—	—	—	—	43	1
Idaho	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	271	—	2	—	—	5	13	—	12	14	—	—	8	106	—	17	—	—	15	—	1	—	—	—	11	67	—
Indiana	69	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	6	—	1	1	31	—	1	10	—	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	6	—
Iowa	9	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—
Kansas	32	—	—	—	—	1	5	—	—	3	—	—	1	9	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
Kentucky	58	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	36	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	1	—	—	10	—
Louisiana	250	—	—	—	—	1	9	—	—	51	—	—	10	65	—	—	—	—	4	22	1	9	—	3	—	75	—
Maine	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Maryland	89	—	1	—	—	5	14	—	—	3	—	—	8	45	—	—	—	—	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	—
Massachusetts	17	1	—	—	—	1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Michigan	245	—	2	1	—	4	11	—	—	26	—	4	14	56	3	14	—	—	24	2	—	1	—	1	13	69	—
Minnesota	8	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—
Mississippi	210	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	16	13	6	7	58	—	4	—	—	—	47	4	1	—	—	—	45	4
Missouri	134	—	1	—	—	2	13	—	2	3	—	—	9	65	—	7	—	—	10	5	—	3	—	—	—	14	—
Montana	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Nevada	7	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
New Hampshire	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	149	—	—	—	—	1	5	—	—	7	—	1	5	56	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	—
New Mexico	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
New York	171	—	2	—	—	4	10	—	—	9	—	—	—	18	—	2	—	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	94	—
North Carolina	218	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	14	—	—	10	128	2	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	53	—
North Dakota	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ohio	148	—	1	—	—	2	9	—	—	1	—	—	9	78	3	5	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	2	—	23	—
Oklahoma	67	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	1	—	8	22	—	11	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—
Oregon	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Pennsylvania	124	—	1	—	—	3	9	—	—	—	—	1	—	40	—	4	—	1	25	16	2	—	—	—	—	22	—
Rhode Island	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	148	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	22	—	1	8	59	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	29	—
Tennessee	106	—	1	—	—	2	9	—	—	47	—	—	—	26	—	—	—	—	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	12	—
Texas	161	—	1	—	—	—	9	—	—	1	—	—	6	63	1	—	—	—	1	6	—	2	—	1	—	70	—
Virginia	80	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	23	—	2	4	45	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Washington	13	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
West Virginia	19	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	15	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Wisconsin	17	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	4	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
Wyoming	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
TOTAL	3979	1	17	4	1	53	223	4	26	315	14	28	152	1442	17	84	194	2	199	168	16	25	2	8	42	839	5

Note: There are no black elected officials in Hawaii, South Dakota, Utah or Vermont.

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V. TALLY SHEET: REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION-1976

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State	1976 Delegate Votes	First Ballot			Second Ballot			Third Ballot		
		Ford	Reagan	Other	Ford	Reagan	Other	Ford	Reagan	Other
Alabama	37									
Alaska	19									
Arizona	29									
Arkansas	27									
California	167									
Colorado	31									
Connecticut	35									
Delaware	17									
Dist. of Columbia	14									
Florida	66									
Georgia	48									
Guam	4									
Hawaii	19									
Idaho	21									
Illinois	101									
Indiana	54									
Iowa	36									
Kansas	34									
Kentucky	37									
Louisiana	41									
Maine	20									
Maryland	43									
Massachusetts	43									
Michigan	84									
Minnesota	42									
Mississippi	30									
Missouri	49									
Montana	20									
Nebraska	25									
Nevada	18									
New Hampshire	21									
New Jersey	67									
New Mexico	21									

State	1976 Delegate Votes	First Ballot			Second Ballot			Third Ballot		
		Ford	Reagan	Other	Ford	Reagan	Other	Ford	Reagan	Other
New York	154									
North Carolina	54									
North Dakota	18									
Ohio	97									
Oklahoma	36									
Oregon	30									
Pennsylvania	103									
Puerto Rico	8									
Rhode Island	19									
South Carolina	36									
South Dakota	20									
Tennessee	43									
Texas	100									
Utah	20									
Vermont	18									
Virgin Islands	4									
Virginia	51									
Washington	38									
West Virginia	28									
Wisconsin	45									
Wyoming	17									
TOTAL (1,130 needed to nominate)	2,259									

OPERATION BIG VOTE

50 percent of voting-age blacks are not registered.

Only 35 percent of all eligible blacks voted in 1974, and only one out of six in the 18-24 age range voted.

WHY SO FEW?

One reason is until recently black leadership and organizations haven't coordinated their register-and-vote efforts.

That's changed now.

It's changed because we've all learned — often at great cost — that: the lower our vote, the lower our voice . . . . in all the decisions that affect black people most — decisions on equal opportunity, on jobs, on education, on health, on housing, on improving our cities and neighborhoods.

We know now that the path to justice starts right in the voting booth.

And that's where OPERATION BIG VOTE aims to go.

What can you do? You can join us, the NATIONAL COALITION ON BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION — an amalgam of fraternal, labor, religious, business and public interest groups linked with state and local voter education and registration campaigns.

We've got a coordinated effort going in 36 target cities in 13 states — special events, literature, speakers, program guidelines — all designed to increase black participation in, and black influence on, the political process. We need your help . . . and we need it now.

JUSTICE STARTS IN THE VOTING BOOTH

Contact: National Coalition on Black Voter Participation
733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 820
Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-4477